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HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS Upon the REIGNS OF *EDWARD* I. II. III. And *RICHARD* II.

With REMARKS upon their *Faithful Counsellors* and *False Favourites.*

Written by a Person of Honour.

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Advertisement.

THE LADIES NEW-YEARS-GIFT, or ADVICE to a DAUGHTER, under these following Heads, *viz.* *Religion*, *Husband*, *House* and *Family*, *Servants*, *Behaviour* and *Conversation*, *Friendships*, *Censure*, *Vanity* and *Affectation*, *Pride*, *Diversions*, *Dancing*.

Printed for *Matt. Gillyflower* and *James Partridge*. 1688.

HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS Upon the REIGNS. Of EDWARD the First, Second and Third, and RICHARD the Second.

Introduction.

SINCE Living in an Age in which the Minds of Men are so passionately divided, that they are apt, of all sides, not only to Condemn whate-

ver is not ſuitable to the Noiſe they make, but wreſt out forc'd Conſtructions far, perhaps, from the meaning of him that either writ or ſaid the words, and where 'tis poſſible to turn Cenſure into Accuſation. I thought it not improper therefore, at leaſt, of State-Criticks, by giving a ſhort Account, by way of Introduction, why I choſe Hiſtory as the moſt uſeful Study, and ſomething of our own moſt proper for our ſelves, where the Proſpect of things paſt under the ſame Laws and Government that we now enjoy, muſt alſo probably be the moſt uſeful part of Hiſtory to us. For if the Revolution and Event of things are the beſt Inſtructions, the Impreſſions may probably be the moſt effectual, where our Actions are Precedents to our ſelves.

I have

I have alſo often conſider'd, ſince riper years have admitted a full conſideration, what Hazard any man undergoes, that expoſes publickly the Endeavours of an improved Knowledge, though with a deſign to preſent to others thoſe advantages that he believes he has acquired to himſelf by the moſt induſtrious and impartial ſearches. And indeed 'tis not only the Intention of doing well, that will procure an Excuſe for Errors committed, but joyn'd to a fair performance, will hardly find a juſt acceptance; and every man by reaſon of Self-inclination, is as much unfit to be a Judge of his own Productions, as generally men, by the averſeneſs to the Reputation of others, are improper to bring in their Verdicts.

The ſame Inclination and Reaſon, that guide what any man writes, will probably make him

approve what he has written; ſo that indeed a man has paſt his Judgment at firſt, and can hardly have a ſeparate Opinion left at laſt: For when he has endeavour'd to apply his beſt Correction, he muſt be diſentangled from his own Nature, to have another Judgment. Fathers that beget Children, may fancy that to be Wit and Diverſion in them, which perhaps diſintereſted perſons would judge troubleſome impertinencies.

On the other ſide, thoſe that are not byaſs'd by any particular Concerns, and ſhou'd be moſt capable to judge, are yet as much bent with the apprehenſion of the Reputation of others, as they are by the fondneſs of gaining it: as if any were robb'd of what was due to their own merits, by others receiving the reward of theirs. One Candle may illuminate a Thouſand, without the

the loſs of Light; and in eſteem no man loſes by what another ſhares. But Jealouſie that diſturbs the Peace of Life, raiſes the Diſquiet in Mens Minds, and Diſturbance is the Product of ill Nature; ſo that men are prepared rather to cenſure than judge. Beſides, in giving Judgment for the Party, there ſeems a tacite ſubmiſſion to his; but Cenſure ſeems a preference to their own: So that by ſearching out faults in others, they give Evidence (as they think) of their own Correctneſs. Whereas, if thoſe that endeavour to be Cenſorious, were to attempt the ſame thing, they might perhaps ſhew as many failings; and the others that ſhou'd enter upon their envious Province, might perhaps ſucceſsfully exceed them in ſearching for Defects.

This is the Cause why the best Performances have not that Kindness or Justice bestowed upon them while the Author lives, which after his Death they receive. Many excellent Painters, who during Life, did not gain any extraordinary Wealth or Fame, after Death their Works increas'd alike into an extream of Price and Reputation: for they cou'd then be no Rivals, and those that were jealous, they might darken their Reputations while living, now believ'd it might be a safe Testimony of their own Skill, to admire the Art of those that were dead.

'Twere too long and needless to name the Writings of many that were little regarded at the time they were written; nay, some censured, some absolutely condemned, which in future times grew into Credit, and by laborious Commentaries, great Excellencies,

lencies, and heights of Imagination, have been endeavoured to be diſcovered, which perhaps were never deſign'd or thought of by the Authors. But when they were not capable to receive any Benefit of a Reputation, 'twas then ſearch'd out for them, to make their Writings uſeful to the Fame and Intereſt of others. For when by Diſtance of time there ſeems a Traditional Authority deſcending with the Writings, many have curiouſly labour'd how to bring this to the uſe of their Arguments and Deſigns, and, to gain the more reverence, fix'd the Name of Antiquity to that which was perform'd rather in the Infancy of Learning.

From this general, and no very pleaſant Conſideration, I enter'd into the particular Parts of Learning; and in the firſt place ſeriouſly weigh'd thoſe ſearches I had

made in *Divinity*, and I perceiv'd nothing ſo eaſie, nor ſo uſeful, as the Goſpel Part of it, which ſhou'd have been the whole: For I thought all things neceſſary were ſo fully and clearly laid down there, that it did not need Diſputes, nor cou'd reaſonably cauſe men to differ, but only requir'd a general Conſent of perſwading for the other pretended part of it, which is drawn out in Diſputes. I found little encouragement to hope any advantage or improvement by labouring in ſuch an intereſſed Labyrinth. For when with as much power of Impartial Reaſon as I was furniſhed with, I had ſteddily weigh'd the particulars that were ſo warmly diſputed among *Chriſtians*, I could not convince my ſelf (though I had a charitable Inclination to the contrary) but that all the particulars from whence ſuch paſſionate Differences had ſprung,

ſprung, were caus'd more by the Zeal for this World than for the other.

For in the firſt place, there was never any Point, now in Controverſie, that had a name pretended when Tradition began: If they had a Birth it was unknown, they lay aſleep in their Cradles, till the future noiſe of the Church rouz'd them, but had no growth at all; and after many years continuing Infants, giving a Teſtimony at leaſt of an unlawful Birth, being then diſown'd by many of the Fathers they were then laid to. So that the Diſputes ſeem'd of what Men invented, not what they found; and in Civil Matters 'twould be thought a ridiculous Contention about a Title of an invented Thing, that never was heard of in Five or ſix hunder'd years, and then not to be found.

Who-

Whoever will take Pains to ſum up the Differences Diſputed among *Chriſtians*, may eaſily find the Dates and Commencements of every one, long after the time from whence they would derive the Cauſes of them. And ſince the particulars diſputed are (for the moſt part) affirmed to be of ſuch Conſequence, it ſeems ſtrange that none of them ſhould have ſuch a plain Name, as not capable to be called otherwiſe, and after a Deluge of ſo many hundred years, when admir'd *Tradition*, nor the leaſt *Eccleſiaſtical Gazett* had given notice of any ſuch thing, to ſee ſtrange Births, and new Names contended for.

But that it may juſtly be thought too prolix and improper for my intended Subject, I could ſet down moſt of the Particulars, their times of Birth, and the Confident Fathers that firſt own'd them, who, while they were

were thus Paſſionate for their own unquiet Off-ſprings, did for ought they knew endeavour to illegitimate the Truth. For large Diſputes, and Diviſions of Mens Minds, ſhew there is a Doubt, which is the right *Determination*; but one ſide finds a Protection for themſelves againſt all Error, and Miſtakes: For thoſe who call themſelves an *Infallible Church*, muſt conſequently make their *Determination* ſo; and not only ſecure what is paſt, but what is to be, by Declaring from the ſame aſſumed Power, a right of making new Articles of Faith. So that none need Examine why they believe at preſent, nor be ſollicitous for what they believe hereafter.

To add to this, I confeſs, I could not upon my beſt Examination find that any of the Particulars controverted among *Chriſtians*, purely and abſtractedly con-

conſidered in themſelves, and the Validity of their own Natures could have any effectual Vertue or uſe, by the Opinion of them, in Point of Salvation, no more than if they had never received their injurious Beings by the Deſigns of Diſputing Parties; for ſome of them are ſo unneceſſary, that the moſt earneſt Contenders for them want Modeſty, ſo much as to deſire; that ſince we muſt endeavour to Live as well as we ought, that the certain knowledge of thoſe things muſt needs be uſeleſs to that end; for nothing that is not in it ſelf material, can be uſeful to the Means; and if Faith, Charity, and Juſtice muſt be the effectual means, I cannot ſee how it is neceſſary to conſider of believing, or not believing any Thing that is not in it ſelf purely neceſſary to be believed for its own intrinſick Vertue.

This

This being my Thoughts of the *Polemic* part of Divinity, I could not perceive any use for my self or others, to be extracted out of these interessed quarrels, and therefore resolved not to wander farther in a Wilderness, where all disputed the way, and most pretended to be unerring Guides. But were the Apostles now Living, they would see a greater improvement by these Disputes, than would have been purchas'd by their plainer Methods and Doctrines; of which they wou'd be sufficiently evinc'd by the (then unthought of) Titles and large Possessions of their Successors. But things of extraordinary Natures are most apt to get respect, visible impossibilities are made the most worthy Objects of Faith: And the Church the less visible, the more Veneration to be given it; and submitting imagination must make

make that greateſt, that is not to be made leſs by being poſſible to be found out where it is.

The next thing I Conſider'd was *Philoſophy*, wherein I found alſo Diſputes warmly maintain'd, Men being apt to engage for the pride of Victory, or luſt of Intereſt. And it appears plainly, that not the deſire of Truth only has engaged many in the ſearch of *Philoſophy*, ſince the uncertain fate of it ſhews that the Opinions receiv'd Credit, as the Intereſts of Men were guided by Deſign or Oppoſition. For in Things that admit no Demonſtration, there is more room for Diſputes than common Benefit.

The beginning of it is reckon'd from *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, who made firſt the publick profeſſion of it. But the Account is given faintly by *Laertius*; and what we read of them and others down to the time of *Socrates*, are but dark Accounts

counts either to raiſe, uſe, or diſpute from. Under him *Plato* began his Studies, and *Ariſtotle* in his time appear'd in *Athens*. The Differences between the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans* were famous, and by their Diſputes made way for the Doctrine of *Plato* to flouriſh, which *Cicero* in his time followed cloſe, finding it perhaps uſeful to Eloquence which he ſo much Laboured in.

The Doctrine of *Ariſtotle* lay ſilent, while *Plato*'s ſpread in *Italy* and *Greece*, which were then the only Countries of Learning. 'Tis ſaid that the Writings of *Ariſtotle* lay hid about One hunder'd and ſixty years, and almoſt ſpoil'd by the moiſture of the Cave where they were buried; after ſold for a great price to a wealthy Citizen of *Athens*, who had a fancy for making a great Collection of Books hard to be gotten. Afterwards when *Sylla* took the City, he took

theſe Writings with a deſign to bring them to *Rome:* But he dying they fell into the Hands of one *Tyrannion.* After him *Andronicus* got them into his Poſſeſſion, who ſeem'd the firſt reſtorer of them, and made them known in *Rome*, about the time of *Cicero's* growing Reputation.

But *Plato* was yet famous in all Places, and the *Romans* that found Advantage and Preferments depended more upon Eloquence than Natural Philoſophy, applied themſelves moſt to the Moral Part of it, and from thence form'd *Religion.*

This Eſtabliſhed the Reputation of *Plato's* Doctrine in *Rome*, till the ſame Cauſe gave Reputation to *Ariſtotle's.* In *Domitians* time, the Diſputes of the Philoſophers began to be ſo troubleſome to the Government, that they were baniſhed *Rome. Marcus Aurelius* brought it again in high Reputation,

tion, and in his time the Doctrine of *Plato* was in ſuch Eſteem, that it grew in Faſhion among the Ladies, and ſo continued to the time of *Severus*.

In this firſt Age the Church ſeem'd to have a Birth; the beginning of the Chriſtian Religion was thought to have the moſt obſtruction from Philoſophers, whoſe Diſputes among themſelves, and the Diviſion of their Sects, gave *Lucian* one of the beſt occaſions to turn it into ridicule.

Some of the Sages among the Chriſtians finding the Pagans ſo averſe to any that diſown'd Philoſophy, they clos'd with them in becoming *Platoniſts*, whoſe Philoſophy was then ſo highly preferred; and then this Philoſophy was by them judged moſt agreeable to the Chriſtian Religion; and contributed to turn *Juſtin*, who was afterwards Martyr'd; who avow'd, that the Philoſophy of

Plato dispos'd him to Christianity. Many Bishops were also admirers of that Philosophy; *Origen* and St. *Austin* were great Asserters of *Plato's* Doctrine, and the usefulness of it for Christianity; and the two first Ages were absolute Opposers of that of *Aristotle.*

Tertullian was one of the first that appeared against the Doctrine of *Plato*; calling him the first Author of all Heresies; and both he, and *Arnobius* follow'd by St. *Chrysostom*, who most sharply of any handled that Doctrine. And then the Stream quite turn'd; and as in the First and Second Age it was believed Christianity was asserted by it; so now in the Third and Fourth Ages 'twas found out that Heresie sprung from it.

The *Latin* Fathers were not so clear sighted to find out that the Subtilties of *Aristotle* were not full of a Spirit of Contradiction against the Christian Religion; but

but the *Greeks* that flourish'd in the Eleventh Age, found it otherwise by studying it; and the Commentaries of *Avicen* and *Averrhoes* on the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, assisted his Reputation, and helped it to spread.

In the 13*th.* Age, as the *French* write, the Works of *Aristotle* were brought into *France*, and for some time taught in the University; but after a little time his Writings were burnt, and Excommunication threatned against any that taught out of them: His *Metaphysicks* were Condemned by an Assembly of Bishops at *Paris*; and six years after the Cardinal of *Estieune*, sent by Pope *Innocent*, forbid the Professors of the University of *Paris* to teach his *Physicks*; which afterwards was also Condemned by a Bull of *Gregory* the Ninth, and one *Simon* a Professor, and *Diuant* a Master of Arts, were after accused of Heresie,

for being Esteemers of *Aristotle*'s Opinions and Writings. *Mezeray* says, that in the Year 1209. one *Almeric* a Priest, beginning to preach some Novelties, had been forc'd to recant; for which he died of Grief. Several after his Death follow'd his Opinion, and were Condemn'd to be burnt; and he being Excommunicated by the Council of *Paris*, his Body was taken up, and his Ashes thrown upon a Dunghil. And because they believed the Books of *Aristotle*, lately brought from *Constantinople*, had fill'd their Heads with these Heretical Subtilties, the same Council forbids the reading or keeping them, under the pain of Excommunication.

But during this Disgrace, there arose in his defence three famous Divines, to whom *Damascen* had open'd the way, having abridg'd many of his Works; which had assisted

assisted him to put in order his great work of Divinity: And afterwards others improv'd this, and took as it were a Plan of Divinity from *Aristotle's* Philosophy.

In the year 1366. Two Cardinals, Commissioners from *Urban* the Fifth, came to Establish the Doctrine of *Aristotle* in *France*; where it was order'd, that none shou'd proceed Master of Arts, that were not Examined upon his *Logick*, *Physicks*, *Metaphysicks*, and his Books of the *Soul*; and afterwards were enjoyned to study *Aristotle* carefully, to restore the Reputation of the University.

Pope *Nicholas* the Fifth, a great advancer of Learning, commanded a new Translation of *Aristotle* into *Latin*, for the use of the Divines of the *Romish* Church.

Pope *John*, that Canoniz'd St. *Thomas* and his Doctrine, increas'd the Reputation of *Aristotle*, from whom that great Doctor had drawn his Principles; but now his Writings became the Fundamental Laws of Philosophy.

In the Fourteenth Age grew the hot Contention between the *Thomists* and the *Scotists* : The Disciples of St. *Thomas* and *Scotus*, about Subtile things, or (as *Mezeray* calls them) brangling Cobweb-Controversies, which yet was pursued with Passion, according to Interest or Inclination, or by engagement of Parties. And so multiply'd were Disputes, that a *Venetian* Writer pretended to reckon up Twelve thousand Volumes published in that Age about the *Philosophy* of *Aristotle*.

This pursuit of Differences, and Niceties, never to be made decidable, grew to raise a new Philoso-

Philoſophy, that the other became ſcarcely intelligible: Intereſt, and the Exceſſive love of Diſpute, cauſed ſo many vain ſubtilties, that *Philoſophy* began to loſe its former Credit and Reputation. And if it were not from my purpoſe, the naming only of thoſe uſeleſs and unintelligible Subtilties would eaſily convince any, that by the ſharp Diſputes it appear'd, it was for Truth, or the hopes evidently to diſcover it, that engaged the quarrelling Parties.

Yet after this the Reputation of *Ariſtotle* ſo far increas'd, and was ſo eſtabliſhed in the Univerſity of *Paris*, that *Ramus*, who had found out ſome new Subtilties in *Logick*, and Publiſhed ſome Obſervations upon *Ariſtotle* to diminiſh his Credit, was by the other Profeſſors in the Univerſity condemn'd in the year 1543. for Raſh, Ignorant, and Impudent,

to dare write any thing against *Aristotle*; and an Order made, that none should teach any other Philosophy. Such a Religious Veneration they had for *Aristotle*, that dissenting from it grew a Heresie; and in the Massacre at *Paris*, *Ramus* was murther'd with as much fury, as the *Calvinists* themselves.

The Credit of *Aristotle* was also not a little encreas'd in the Church of *Rome*, from the Opposition of *Bucer*, *Calvin*, *Melanchon*, and others; and it was then more and more found out, that it was a support to the dark Opinions of that Church. This was the Cause that it was so supported by the Doctors of *Paris* in the year 1611. by making a new Rule, that all Professors should teach the Philosophy of *Aristotle*. And in the year 1624. a Request was denied for some particular *Theses* to be propos'd against

againſt the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle:* And the ſame Parliament in the Year 1629. made an Arreſt againſt ſome *Chymiſts*, upon the Information of the *Sorboniſts*, that the Principles of *Ariſtotle* cou'd not be written againſt, or leſſen'd, without prejudicing the School-Divinity receiv'd. And this perhaps rais'd and confirm'd his Reputation in all Univerſities, which were firſt encourag'd by the Popes, as proper Soils to ſow the Seeds for Diſputers to grow up, to defend and ſupport all new and dark Opinions. Thus his Name grew almoſt Sacred in Univerſities; and *Queens Colledge* in *Oxford* yet ſhews a kind of Teſtimony of Veneration, by reading *Ariſtotle* upon their Knees; and thoſe that take Degrees, ſworn to defend his Philoſophy.

Who-

Whoſoever will impartially conſider the dark Subtilties contain'd in *Ariſtotle's* Philoſophy, will find reaſon enough for the uſe of it in as dark, but more dull Writings of School-Divinity, whoſe end ſeems only to confound all things with obſcure and dark diſtinctions. For when an impartial Obedience is to be perſwaded, the moſt ſublime and unintelligible means are moſt proper to be uſed.

And 'tis no wonder if the Fathers, and Sages of the Three firſt Ages, were not quick enough to underſtand a ſort of Dullneſs, of which then they had no uſe, the thing not being then found out that they were to be applied to. But when the occaſion was ready for it, the puzling parts of *Ariſtotle's* Philoſophy were found uſeful; and among all his dark Subtilties, none more convenient than that of ſeparated Eſſences, which

which were Beings where no Being was, and the only proper Notion to find out a place for *Purgatory*; and seem'd also very useful to support the hard Point of *Transubstantiation*; where there appears a Substance, that must not be believ'd to be there, and another to be believ'd there that is not at all to be perceiv'd. Yet though the Church engag'd in the Quarrel, the Credit of the New Philosophy has increas'd chiefly by the Writings of *Mirandula*, *Lod. Vives*, *Galilæus*, *Gassendus*, and *Des Cartes*, and by many excellent Philosophers of our own Nation.

I have not given this Account with the least Design or Endeavour to lessen the Esteem of *Knowledge* in this particular of *Philosophy*. For certainly the *Natural Reason* of things is worthy of such a search as may inform. But to labour in the endless and use-

uſeleſs ſearches of Subtilties and nice Diſtinctions, can be for no other uſe but Diſputes, caus'd by the Vanity of ſuppos'd Victory, or the Application to Intereſt. At leaſt, I cou'd not find a clear advantage to my ſelf, or cou'd have hoped to have offer'd any others, by endeavouring to obtain the Perfections of an imperfect Study, wherein nothing appear'd to me promiſing any thing of publick uſe or private demonſtration.

For the *Mathematicks*, ſetting aſide that vain part of it, *Aſtrology*, I only know enough of it to deplore I had not made my intire Study there, where a Demonſtration made it more proper for the true uſe of men, than for their Deſigns. For in things that admit the leaſt Diſpute, men muſt be leaſt divided; and yet *Evident Truth* begets the leaſt Intereſt, and the feweſt Admirers. But where things not only above Reaſon, but

but contrary to Senſe, are impos'd upon mens Belief, that implicite Faith, and conſequently Obedience, muſt be the ſure Foundation of Intereſt; and thoſe who have parted with their Wits, may probably part with their Fortunes. For certainly had not ſuch extraordinary Deſigns proſper'd on eaſie men, the Eccleſiaſticks had not crept into ſuch great Titles and large Poſſeſſions, that the Apoſtles cou'd hardly find any Image of themſelves in their Succeſſors, and as little in ſome of their Opinions, who never were taught, or did teach, to deny *Senſe*, and to make *viſible Truth*, or *ſenſible Demonſtration*, a Sin.

The *Mathematicks* have therefore caus'd leſs Diſputes, and engaged fewer in the Study of it, where Truth can only be the Search and the Reward, and Diſputes muſt be confounded by Demonſtration. But the other Studies

dies are moſt ſuitable to the bent Nature of Mankind, where things not to be clearly decided, nouriſh Contention and Deſign: For eaſie People being ready for extraordinary Notions, excuſe the folly of not examining, by the prudence of believing it ſafer to ſubmit implicitly to others, than to uſe their own Senſe. And at laſt, by ſuch intire ſubmiſſions, Impoſſibilities become as eaſie to them as Truths, and Falſeneſs as Demonſtration; like thoſe that uſe themſelves perpetually to hot Waters, Spirit of Wine it ſelf at laſt is ſwallow'd up, without being perceiv'd to have any violent ſtrength.

Ob-

Obſervations on HISTORY.

THE next Study to this, that ſeem'd nearest Truth, and of moſt uſe, was *Hiſtory*, in which the beſt meaſures of men are to be found; and the *Compariſons* of Calms and Storms in Empires, the Quiet and Revolutions under ſeveral Princes and Governours, will beſt teach by what Methods Kingdoms have been preſerv'd and ſhaken; which is not only uſeful for thoſe that govern, but thoſe that obey, teaching the firſt how to preſerve, and the laſt how to afford the Means.

Nor did any thing appear more agreeable to me, than the uſe that *Machiavel* makes of *Hiſtory* in his *Decads* on *Livy*, where his Diſcourſes,

ſcourſes, grounded upon Reaſon, have yet matter of Fact to ſupport them, and brings it the neareſt to a Demonſtration. For Notions in *Politicks*, unſupported with Fact, ſeem only bare Opinions; but from thoſe Accidents and Events that we have ſeen follow cloſely the Wiſdom and Vertue of Princes, or the Folly and Vices of them and their Favourites and Miniſters, (ſharing ſo much their Power) may be reaſonably deduc'd that Judgment of things which muſt be uſeful to practice, or avoid, by the ruling and obeying part.

There are no Preſcriptions (in my Opinion at leaſt) ſo uſeful againſt this Sickneſs, as the Precedents in *Hiſtory*; to ſee what Glory and Safety wiſe and vertuous Princes have obtain'd, and what Ruine the Cruelty and Folly of others have brought upon themſelves and Subjects. In eve-

ry

ry Country their own Precedents are moſt proper for themſelves, ſince living under the ſame Conſtitutions, they may juſtly expect the ſame Effects from thoſe happy or unfortunate Cauſes.

In all our Stories, I look'd upon none ſo inſtructing as this part I have choſen, where the power of firm Vertue and unſteady Errors ſo evidently appear'd in their cloſe Operations.

I do not look upon a calm and quiet Reign ſo much the Proof of ſteady Vertue, where Peace has deſcended with the Empire, nor the Troubles of an unquiet time ſo clear an Evidence of unſteady Errors, where the Storms and Troubles deſcended with the Crown. But when in an immediate and repeated Succeſſion, the Extreams alternately have preſerv'd and deſtroy'd. I look upon theſe as the clear Teſtimonies of the different Powers of Vice

and Vertue, Steddineſs and Indirectneſs, Juſtice, and Tyranny.

The Examples are no where to be found more cloſe than in the Reigns of *Edward* the Second and *Richard* the Second. The firſt ſucceeded his Father *Edward*, who came to the Crown after many Troubles that his Father *Henry* the Third had long labour'd under; but his ſteddy Vertue overcame all Troubles at home, and conquer'd his Enemies abroad; and was the firſt that made *England* look like a Powerful and Eſtabliſh'd Monarchy. His unfortunate Son *Edward* unravell'd what he had wound up, and by unſteddy Errors ſhook that Power that deſcended ſo unſhaken to him from his mighty Father. His Son *Edward* the Third, by Vertues and Methods of his Grandfather, reſtor'd what his Father had loſt. *Richard* the Second, the

Son

Son of the *Black Prince*, ſucceeded his Grandfather in his Throne; but his Great Grandfather, *Edward* the Second, in the ſame fatal and unſteddy meaſures, loſt more than the other had gained. For though he loſt his Life, like *Edward* the Second, yet he loſt more than he; for with him the Succeſſion ended, and fell into another Line.

No Subject appear'd to me ſo worthy of Remarks as this; which evidently ſhews, that there is a general Temper in Mankind, fatal to their own Peace, which even and firm Minds wou'd perceive. Fortune and occaſion add to, or diminiſh the Temper of moſt, who ſink either too low, or ſwell too high: Succeſs makes them falſe to themſelves and others. All modeſt and profeſs'd Principles are loſt in ſuch a Temptation, and both Kings and Subjects have haraſs'd one another by

ſuch alterations, and ſhook the Government they both ſeem'd tender of.

Sometimes when Kings have been in ſuch a Condition that is capable to ground ſufficient Flattery upon, there never want thoſe either indigent in Fortune or Vertue, to perſwade Kings, That Limited Power (for ſo they call Laws obſerv'd) is but the Fetters of a Prince, and they need be worn no longer than he ſubmits to publick Notions, which are nothing but unſolid Fancies: For if a King does not aſſume all Power, the Subjects will grow into the greateſt ſhare, and will neceſſitate him to try for all, or have as good as none.

On the other ſide, a Prince attempting this, and failing, he ſinks perhaps to grant as much as he deſign'd to get, and believes to find a ſtop in their Deſires, who knew none in his own. Subjects are

at first modest, and their Desires are grounded upon Common Interest; but usually when they believe their Credit and Condition large enough for a Foundation, they increase as fast in Desires as Fortune gives them occasion; and when they gain more than they expected, they will ask more to secure what they had obtain'd, and at last make themselves incapable to trust or be trusted. It is the Nature of Extremities to allow no retreat; and the mischiefs of either side are equal to the *Common Peace*; and wherever a ravish'd Power rests, the *Tyranny* is alike.

Nothing more illustrates this than the unfortunate Reigns of those Two unhappy Princes *Edward* the Second, and *Richard* the Second, both Princes of resembling Tempers, not affected with *extraordinary Cruelty* in their own Natures, of competent *Sense* and

Courage, but ill Users of both: In *Prosperity* they seem'd to shew more Courage than they had, and in *Adversity* less; by which it naturally appear'd they were more influenced by others than themselves, who *flatter'd* them in a *good Condition*, and *forsook* them in a *bad*. They were both apt to be fond of *Favourites*, and the Nobility as apt to hate them: Yet some of those that condemn'd those Kings for fixing too much their *Favours* upon particular persons, wou'd perhaps have been as pleas'd to enjoy the same good Fortune. But the publick was made complain for their private Displeasures, and the usual immoderate use of Power in those *Favourites*, caus'd such a Distance in the Hearts of King and People, that the attempting the *Cure* of the *Diseases* that sprung from the infection of ambitious Ministers, procur'd *Calamities* in their

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Redreſs; as *Phyſicians*, ſometimes one *Diſeaſe* as a Remedy for another, and to cure a *Lethargy*, the Patient muſt be driven to a *Fever*.

King *Edward* gave this Offence by his unlimited *Favours* to *Gaveſton*, and after him to the *Spencers*: King *Richard* to the Duke of *Ireland*, and Earl of *Suffolk*. *Gaveſton*'s Perſon was very charming, and his Mind and Frame equally fitted for *Luxuries*, which was diſcern'd by that great Prince *Edward* the Firſt, who baniſh'd him, and on his Death-bed enjoyned his Son never to bring him back. He was a man of *Courage*, but when rais'd to Power, he grew from all Evenneſs of Temper, and was as inſolent as his Fortune was great.

The *Spencers* ſucceeded him in *Favour*, in whom no particular marks of good Qualities cou'd be trac'd; never ſatisfied with *wealth*,

nor ever ſatisfied with *revenge*. The Riches of the Nation ſeem'd but enough to ſatisfie their Ambitions, and the Deſtruction of it to ſecure their Safeties. They firſt juſtly made many their Enemies, and then deſtroy'd them for being ſo. By this it may ſeem ſtrange, that Princes ſhou'd have that Exceſs of Value for ſuch worthleſs Objects, which more ordinary perſons wou'd hardly beſtow upon them. But thoſe of the looſeſt and moſt debauched Principles are apteſt to feed the Humour of men, who love to be nouriſh'd by ſoft *Flatteries*; and Common People are not Objects for ſuch Endeavours. Princes tempt the Tempters, who creep into their Power by perpetual whiſpers, how to enlarge theirs, and twiſting themſelves into their Princes Favour and Opinion, involve his *Intereſt* with theirs, and render any *Diſpleaſure* againſt them,

them, the want of *Duty* to him.

Richard the Second was as unhappy as his Choice of *Favourites*. The first was the Duke of *Ireland*, better than the rest, but hardly better than any others. He was not a great studier of *mischief*, but a ready *Adviser* to pursue any *advantage* to enlarge Power. He seem'd to want Courage to attempt; and few want Courage to embrace. So that it was possible he might have rested in a limited share of *Fortune*, and been contented with a *moderate quietness*, had he not been joyned with the *turbulent* Earl of *Suffolk*, who, in all *Conditions*, merited the worst *Character*; in War, fearful; in Peace, insupportable; all *Vertue* unthought of by him, and *Mischief* his study, and his Diseas'd Mind the common place of *Corruption*.

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Tresilian, the *Chief Justice*, was an useful Minister to assist such a *Favourite*, who was ready to subject *Law* to *Occasion*, and make the *Occasion* suitable to *Law*; and 'tis probable he got his Place by such measures; for his *Reason* was *Violence*, and his *Justice Cruelty*.

There was nothing right or wrong, but what he was directed to determine so, and gave a full Testimony of himself in the deciding the *Ten Queries* propos'd by the Earl of *Suffolk*, all which were resolved into *Treason*, or to merit *Death*. By which Resolves the Nation was made the *Traitor*, and the *Treason* fitted certainly to find out *Traitors*.

Thus commonly Men attain to Princes Favours, by being more Councellors to their Humors than their Interest, and with unconfin'd Flattery betray them to the Temptation of unlimited Power.

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And this violent driving all things into Extreams, was the fall of thoſe too unhappy Princes, who, when they had Power ſhew'd no Moderation, and when they wanted it, betray'd as much Dejection.

This ſhook that Truſt, which is the Foundation of peace, and that once ſhaken, either ſide (as occaſion offer'd) acted the ſame immoderation, which they before Condemn'd. Both theſe Princes in the change of Fortune, denied and granted too much, and moſt commonly denied what they had granted, and granted what they had denied before, by which they diſoblig'd in denying, and their Favours ſeem'd no Obligation when beſtow'd. The firſt was look'd upon, as deſign'd to injure their Subjects, and the laſt as a fear of them.

Theſe things will be beſt illuſtrated by giving an impartial Account

count of ſome reſembling Particulars in the Actions of theſe unfortunate Princes.

Edward the Second began firſt with his receiving the baniſhed *Gaveſton* into Favour before his Fathers Funerals were performed, makes him Earl of *Cornwal*, and gives him the Lordſhip of *Man*; and in his firſt Actions, ſeems to forget his Fathers Commands, and neglect the Advice of any Councel.

This ſo enrag'd the Nobility, that they preſs for *Gaveſton*'s Baniſhment; or threaten'd (if deny'd) to hinder his Coronation. The King (purſued always with a Fatal unſteadineſs) yields to their Demands, and Promiſes in the next Parliament all they had deſired: Yet after he had promis'd the Baniſhment of *Gaveſton*, permits him, notwithſtanding, to carry St. *Edward*'s Crown. This aggravates ſo much, that the next

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Parliament proceeded much higher. Thus the *Ballances* began to be toſt up and down; as any weight on either ſide, helpt to hoiſt up the other.

In the *Parliament* they purſued their *advantage*; and the King not only grants them power to draw *Articles*, but takes his *Oath* to *confirm* whatever they *concluded*; and he that before ſeem'd jealous of truſting his *Subjects*, now gave them an opportunity of revenging that Miſtruſt.

The want of *Confidence* before ſeem'd to betray an ill *Intention*, and this unlimited *Confidence* confirm'd the Opinion of it; both betray'd what he deſign'd both ſhou'd conceal; and by the *Extreams*, taught the fatal *Leſſon* of *Jealouſie*; and thoſe perhaps that advis'd the ill Deſigns, wanting power to bring them forth from their own Fears, gave Councils con-

contrary to their former *Advices* in a better *Condition*: For men without Principles are guided by those Opinions that unequal Fears, or unsteddy Ambition gives them, and receive no Council from even *Principles*, or unshaken *Vertue*.

These Mistakes provok'd the Banishment of *Gaveston*, and the King became liable to *Perjury* whenever they pleased. But after he had committed this Error, he pursues it with a greater; and though he banish'd *Gaveston* to keep his Oath, he violates again by re-calling him, and gives him his *Neece* in *Marriage*, and so much *Rules*, that it justly merited the Censure of wasting the publick Treasure.

The *Barrons* enrag'd at this *Breach* of *Faith* in the *King*, and to see the *Fortune* of the *Nation* thrown into a *Stranger*'s Hands, threaten Force against their *Per-*

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jur'd Prince, and by this means obtain again the Banishment of *Gaveston*, with a Clause of *Death*, if ever he returned.

Gaveston having not been long in *Banishment*, and finding, or at least believing he was not safe abroad, thought it less hazardous to trust to the former extravagant *Affection* of the *King*, than *Enemies* and *Strangers* in another Countrey; and upon this consideration comes back into *England*, and immediately repairs to him. The King (according to his expectation) receiv'd him with such an *Excess* of *inconsiderate Joy* and *Kindness*, that it seem'd as if *Gaveston* brought always *Charms* more powerful than any *Divine* or *Humane Obligation*.

Upon this the *Lords* again took Arms, and petition in the Name of the whole *Commonalty*, That *Gaveston* may be banish'd. The *King* more fond of *Gaveston*, than

than ſenſible of what he had done, or of their *Force* or *Petition*, takes, as it were, a *Flight* with him, and puts him with *Forces* into *Scarborough-Caſtle*; and as *Gaveſton* ſeem'd to aim at ſecurity, by weaving the *King's Fortunes* with *his*, ſo the *King* ſeem'd to make his *Fortunes* as deſperate as *Gaveſton's*, by ſharing his *Condition*.

The *Lords* eagerly purſu'd him to *Scarborough*, which they beſieg'd and took, together with *Gaveſton*, whom they immediately beheaded. Thus this *unhappy* Prince neglecting his own *Faith*, gave others the Opinion, that theirs was diſcharg'd; and the *fondneſs* of a *Favourite* above the People, leſſen'd their *Duty*, as he leſſen'd his *Conſideration* of them: and 'tis too viſible a truth, that a *Prince* who ſo much reſigns himſelf to *Favourites*, muſt alſo reſign his *Fortune* to theirs.

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The *Lords*, ſwell'd with this Succeſs (the uſual Effects of Raviſh't Power), march with an Army towards *London*, where the *King* then was, where *Neceſſity*, and not *Choice*, ſeem'd to be the means that a *Parliament* was call'd, where the *King* complain'd of the *Barons*, who juſtified their unlawful Actions, by the *Errors* of their Prince, and plead Merit for having purchas'd the *Baniſhment* of *Strangers* to quiet the People. Thus *unſteddy Actions* beget *wild Arguments*, and *falſe Pretenſions* are too much ſupported by *Power*.

However, a *Compoſure* for the preſent was made by the *Queen*, the *Biſhops*, and the Earl of *Glocester*, who calm'd the *Barons* into a Temper of asking the *King*'s Pardon; and ſeveral *Articles* were agreed on for preſent ſatisfaction, which ſeem'd as if the *Lords* had more Inclinations to *Obedience*

than *Rebellion*, and wanted but the prudent *Juſtice* of a Prince to be applied, to cure theſe *Wounds* that *Jealous Diſcontents* had made.

But the Miſchief of former ill *Humours* and *Councils* remain'd, and began to ſhew themſelves by the delay of performing what was agreed on, which was the Cauſe that the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick* and *Warren*, refus'd to go with the *King* againſt the *Scots*.

It ſeems ſtrange, that *Unſteddineſs* and *Injuſtice*, Two of the *weakeſt Errors* of Mankind, ſhou'd become *Rules* for *Princes* to act by, which could hardly be poſſible, were they not reſign'd to the *Councils* of others, and conſequently to their Intereſts, ſuch who cannot by *National Methods* purſue their *Ambitious Deſigns*, and protect what they obtain; the purſuit of Honour and Riches

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are ſeldom limited, and putting a Diſtance between *King* and *People* is the only means to keep them remote from *Examination* and *Juſtice*, and at leaſt involve their Intereſt ſo with his, that to queſtion *them* is to attack his *Dignity*.

To foment *Differences* between the *King* and others, was now acted by little *Artifices*; one Inſtance of which was the taking away the Earl of *Lancaſter*'s Wife by one *Richard* St. *Martin*, claiming her as his, and that he had formerly lain with her; and claim'd by her the Two Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*. This was an *Action* that ſeem'd to ſhew the Encouragement and Aſſiſtance of great Power; nor did they that contriv'd it, omit their chief aim of having the *King* thought a Party, at once to engage him in their *Deſigns* and *Animoſities*, and to revenge himſelf and them by

particular Injuries: For 'tis not to be preſum'd, that ſuch a man as the Duke of *Lancaſter* could have ſuch a violence committed in his Houſe by an inconſiderable Fellow, without great aſſiſtance of Force and Power: and the Two *Earldoms* (that ſeems reſted in her) were Arguments that the Deſign was to affront the Duke of *Lancaſter* in the Diminution of his Honour, and to make an irreconcilable Difference between the *King* and *him*, who being related to the *King*, and a man of great *Quality* and *Intereſt*; might perhaps be an Obſtacle to thoſe Deſigns which were contriving by the new *Favourites*; and it was an improper conſideration for ſuch to conſider whether the *King's Intereſt* and *Honour* were beſt ſerved by this, but only whether their own Deſigns were not beſt purſu'd.

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And now the ſame Fatal *Humour* began to ſhew it ſelf; and *Hugh Spencer* the Younger (who *Mezeray* ſays had been bred up with him in an unbecoming Familiarity, and had abſolute Empire over him), ſucceeded *Gaveſton* in an almoſt unlimited Favour and Power. The firſt Difference that this cauſed appeared at the Siege of *Berwick*, which being near taken by the *Scots*, the *King* declared to make his Deſign to make the Younger *Spencer* Governour of it; upon which the Earl of *Lancaſter* withdrew his Forces, with whom the *Lords* preſently took Arms, and declared the Cauſe to be for the removing the *Spencers*; the *Father* being now got into joynt Commiſſion of Favour with his *Son*, who govern'd with as much Inſolence and Abſoluteneſs as ever *Gaveſton* had done.

With these Forces they advance towards the *King*, and boldly demand the Banishment of the *Spencers*: The *King* not being strong enough at present to oppose them, gives a Temperate Answer, only seeming averse to punish any but by *Form* of *Law*; and therefore wou'd not banish them unheard, but promises them they shou'd answer to any Charge, and swore he wou'd never pardon Offences prov'd. This Answer did not yet satisfie the *Lords*, who continued their March to *London*, where the *King* grants all things denied before.

The *King*, that had yeilded to what was demanded by *Force*, out of the apprehension of that Power, retain'd yet his former Inclinations, and was so used to act by indirectness, that he rather proceeded by a familiar Method, than any new Necessity, and practis'd

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as much from Nature as Occasion.

The *Spencers*, by an *Edict* published in *Westminster-Hall*; by the Earl of *Hereford*, were banished the Realm; but in a very little time, when the *Lords* were returned home, the *Edict* was revoked in a Council held in *London*, where the Archbishop of *Canterbury* declared the Banishment of the *Spencers* to have been Erroneous.

As soon as the *Lords* were retired to their promised Quiet, having obtained what they desired, the *King* began to design to revenge on them the Displeasure for what he himself had granted, as if all his *Favours* were his *Errours*, and his *Severity* his *prudent Justice*. Thus while they thought themselves restored to *Peace*, the *King* prepares for *War*, and suddenly raising Forces, pursues the *Barons*, many of whom revolt to

him; the rest make such preparations as was possible in so short a time, and stayed with their *Forces* at *Burton upon Trent:* When the *King*'s Army advanc'd to them, they perceiv'd they were much exceeded in Numbers; so that the Earl of *Lancaster* thought it wiser to retreat, especially considering, that he had sent Sir *Robert Holland* to raise more Forces among his Tenants, which Supplies he thought it prudent to wait for: But the Endeavour to retreat, gave the *King*'s Forces an Addition of Courage from that Testimony of their Fear, which was made use of by *Valence* Earl of *Pembrook*, who then Commanded the *King*'s Army, who, after some resistance, put them to flight; after which the Earl of *Lancaster*, and many Noblemen and Gentlemen, were taken Prisoners. The News of this Defeat, or his own Falseness, brought Sir *Ra-*

Robert Holland, with his new raiſed Forces, to joyn with the *King*.

As ſoon as theſe mighty Enemies were in the *King*'s Power, the *Spencers* (full of Revenge) urged on for the Execution of all. 'Tis ſaid, That *Valence* the Earl of *Pembrook*, who obtained the Victory, interceded for Mercy; but this rather haſtens their Fate; for *Spencer* was ſo apprehenſive, that the *King*'s Mercy to any wou'd be a Cruelty to him, that he ſucceſsfully urg'd a quick Execution: The *King*, with other *Lords*, among whom was *Hugh Spencer*, now Earl of *Winchester*, ſat and gave Judgment upon the Earl of *Lancaster*, who was preſently beheaded, and many other *Lords* in their ſeveral Countries, to diſperſe Terror in every place. Above Twenty Men of *Quality* were put to death at this time; the firſt Blood of this

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nature that was ever ſhed ſince the Conqueſt.

Beſides, the Earl of *Lancaſter*, there died Fourteen *Lords* and *Barons*, their Eſtates and Inheritances were likewiſe ſeiz'd, and were us'd to advance a new ſort of men, who muſt needs applaud and flatter ſuch Councils and Succeſſes that had been ſo favourable to them; and queſtionleſs the Streams of *Flatteries* flow'd to the King, for his Choice of ſuch a Favourite as *Spencer*, who had now enthron'd him once again, and by ſo much Blood procured him the ſureſt Coronation: Nor was *Spencer* leſs blind in the Judgment of his own Condition, who was now *Maſter* of his *King*, and of all thoſe Spoils that this bloody Succeſs had thrown into his ambitious Arms: But his Condition was too proſperous temperately to conſider the *Uncertainty* of a *Violent Proſperity*, watched by the un-

unwearied ſearches of Envy and Revenge.

Councils and *Actions* now appeared, as commonly after ſuch Succeſs; *Law* lay contemn'd under *Power*, and the *Intereſt* of the *Nation* under *Conqueſt*; all Temperate and Compoſing Actions formerly uſed, were now reflected on as a *Prince*'s Shame, and any thing leſs than *Arbitrary Power*, his Diſhonour; an ill choſen Ground of Safety in its own Nature, but moſt improper to engage a *Prince* in, who by the weakneſs of *unſteddy Judgment*, and the ill uſe of *Power*, had ſufficiently, by miſtruſt, prepar'd mens minds not to be couzen'd into *Flattery*.

It muſt be the Concurrence of many ſtrange Accidents, and the cloſe Reſerve of a *Prince*'s Nature, that muſt ſteal him into *Abſolute Power*; otherwiſe we had heard of many more ſucceſs-

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ful Tyrants in the World: For I doubt not but generally the *Natures* of Men have been more ready to embrace more Power than their *Abilities* or *Accidents* have complied to aſſiſt them in: And we ſeldom read of ſuch as become *Slaves*, but of ſuch as have been well *couzen'd Subjects*.

The *King*'s Power now ſeemingly grown to a great height, by the Numbers that his Succeſs encreas'd, flatter'd him as well as their Tongues, that nothing was able to reſiſt him, and perhaps to find uſes for thoſe Forces, that now muſt be kept together, reſolves to march from *York* into *Scotland*, rather with a mighty *Number* than a *powerful Army*, never conſidering, that ſuch *Numbers*, without ſuitable *Diſcipline* and *Proviſions*, were a weakneſs to themſelves: The *Scots*, it ſeem'd, conſider'd this, and kept cloſe, and hindred them of all

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Proviſions, leaving them to overcome themſelves; for *Want* increaſing, they were beaten without *Blows*, and return'd purſued by *Want* and *Diſhonour*, as well as by the *Scots*, who enter'd far into *England*, and return'd with great Spoils into *Scotland*.

This unhappy *King*, not made for *Councils*, was as well not born for Triumph, and was now perhaps at a calmer leiſure to conſider what he had done. It ſeem'd ſomething like regretting Thoughts, when being earneſtly ſollicited to pardon one of the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Followers, a Man of a mean Condition, he exclaim'd with Paſſion againſt ſuch Councellors that preſt him to ſpare the *Life* of ſuch a *Fellow*, and ſpoke not one word to ſpare the *Life* of the *Duke*, though his near Kinſman, whoſe Blood had ſo near Relation to his own, making this true Reflection, that his

Life

Life might have been uſeful to him, the other's could not.

Misfortune ſeem'd at this Inſtant to give the *King* a more temperate Conſideration, which in the ſtreams of Succeſs he would hardly have leiſure to entertain; but this was rather an unſteddy than a firm return to better and more prudent Thoughts and Councils, his Nature was ſtill the ſame, which made his *Favours* or *Diſpleaſure* equally dangerous.

Sir *Andrew Hackley*, who took the Earl of *Lancaſter*, ſhew'd the Truth of this; for growing enough to give apprehenſion to the *Spencers*, he loſt his new enjoy'd *Honours*, together with his *Life*, being firſt *degraded* of them, and then *executed*: So that the *King* ſeem'd at one time ready to deſtroy, and to revenge Deſtruction, juſt as the Diſpleaſure and Spleen of his Am-

Ambitious Favourites guided him.

It was no wonder if ſo eaſie a Conqueſt over a *King* ſhou'd ſwell the *Conquerour* enough to burſt him; nor that ſo much Wealth and Glory ſhou'd ſo much dazzle the Eyes of *Spencer*, as to make him looſe his way; but all ſeem'd calm, nor any little ſpeck ſo like a Cloud that ſeem'd to threaten any ſtorm; and the inſtability of this World in *general* is ſeldom the Contemplation of the *Fortunate* and *Ambitious*.

This made him attempt that which was the higheſt Teſtimony of his believ'd Security, in leſſening the *Queens* Attandance and Maintenance: The *Spencers* were not ſatiated with all the late Spoils of the *King*'s Enemies, nor with the Sale of his Favours to his Friends; *Places* and *Honours* were purchas'd as in a com-

common Market, and every thing enclos'd or expos'd as they pleaſed: Yet it ſeem'd all this was not enough, or certainly they wou'd not have endeavoured to ſupply the want by the *Queens* Prejudice, and raiſe the moſt probable ſtorm to diſturb their proſperous Courſe: For the *Queen* had been always the great ſupport of the *King*, and the *Compoſer* of his difficult Affairs: She repair'd thoſe Breaches the Errors of others had made; one that ſtill labour'd for Peace, and was ſucceſsful in it.

It might ſeem ſtrange, that *Favourites* could find ways to waſte as much as would ſupport and ſupply the Publick, and then ſeek ways as extravagant to get it: and yet more ſtrange, that a *King* ſhou'd be a Party in the dangerous ways that led to his own Ruine, and careful to preſerve them by the Hazard of himſelf. When

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Gaveſton and the *Spencers* ſeem'd forſaken by God and Man, they were never by their unfortunate *Prince*, but by him the whole was judged more guilty, and leſs wiſe than his *Favourites*.

In the fatal ſtream of Fortune, the Proſperous and Ambitious think of nothing but *Enjoyments*, deteſt a *ſober*, much more a *melancholy* Conſideration of thoſe ſtrange and ſudden *Alterations* and *Changes* that this World is ſubject to; but think their *Greatneſs* and *Proſperity* has chain'd up *Accidents*; and that *Fortune*, who had flatter'd them as much as they had done their *Prince*, wou'd always be as obedient as ſhe had been ſeemingly fond of them: *Affliction* gives *Thoughts* admittance, but the ſwell'd Minds of the ſucceſsfully *Ambitious* ſeldom endure to think.

The Firſt Accident that ſhew'd this Truth, was the Troubles that roſe in *France*, which grew ſo high that all the *Kings Territories* were adjudged forfeited, and many places of importance ſeized: The ſtorm was ſo violent that there was no hopes of *becalming* this *Roughneſs*, but by the *King*'s going in Perſon to pay his Homage, or at leaſt the *Queen* to mediate with her *Brother*. But the *Spencers* thought it unſafe to be ſeparated from the *King*, who yet was the only Fence againſt that Sea of Diſcontent, whoſe Tide every day appear'd to ſwell; and they that had deſtroyed all *Truſt*, had reaſon enough to be jealous.

Such men ſo conſtantly guided by pleaſing Weakneſſes, might not perhaps deſcern the *Queen* might be a *dangerous Inſtrument* to employ, that had been ſo diſobliged; but commonly thoſe that do injuries,

are

are the leaſt apprehenſive that they will be remembred, or commonly having no fear of thoſe they oppreſs, they never conſider the future poſſibility of *Revenge*. But if they had apprehended danger to themſelves in the *Queens* going, yet they choſe the leſs Evil, nothing appearing ſo terrible as parting with the *King*.

Thus the *Queen* was ſent away with an indifferent *Train*, and acted ſeemingly ſo well, that ſhe brought things to a fair accommodation, but upon ſuch Terms as did neceſſitate the *Prince* her Son to be ſent over to her. With him ſhe had what ſhe deſired, a Foundation to build her Revenge upon , which had been long rak'd up in warm Embers, which now ſhe began to diſcover. And the beginning of this *Fire* breaking out, was made known to the *King* by the Biſhop of *Exeter*, who ſecretly withdrew into *England*;

but ſhe was ſtayed by the moſt powerful Cauſes, *Love* and *Revenge*. For ſhe that now ſeem'd free from all Ties to her *King* and *Husband*, placed her looſe Affections upon *Roger Mortimer*, who had lately eſcaped out of the *Tower*, and from the Oppreſſion of the *Spencers*: She knew *England* con'd neither be ſafe to her, nor *Mortimer*, whom ſhe valued as her ſelf; and therefore reſolved to truſt any thing rather than her *Husband* or the *Spencers*.

The *Queen* thus delaying her Obedience to the *King*, in returning to *England*, *She* and the *Prince* were declared *Enemies* to the *Kingdom*, and they and their Adherents baniſhed; and at the ſame time the *Queen* received Intelligence, that there were great Sums offered to have the *Prince* murthered; upon which ſhe withdrew to the Earl of *Haynault*, where

where ſhe contracted her Son to *Philippa*, Daughter to the *Earl*, and there procures ſome *Forces* and *Moneys*: Though her *Forces* were inconſiderable, yet ſhe reaſonably depended upon what ſhe ſhou'd find in *England*, not what ſhe brought; For ſhe knew that any thing would be welcome that brought a ſhew of redeeming them from the Oppreſſions they ſuffer'd under. With theſe therefore ſhe ventur'd to Sea, and after ſome Variety of Accidents, ſhe landed with her Forces near *Harwich*, where immediately ſhe found all her Conjectures true: For many *Lords* and *Biſhops* repaired to her; among them, the Two Biſhops of *Hereford* and *Lincoln*; the firſt not forgetting the particular Wrong, and both zealouſly remembring the Injury the *Clergy* had received.

The *Queen* wanted not a just Complaint to support her unjust *Cause*; and so great were the Discontents, that they hurried on almost the whole *Nation* to support a *Double Rebellion* in a *Woman* against her *King* and *Husband*; and the *Pulpit* was ready to speak as execrably as others to act. The Bishop of *Hereford* taking for his Text, *My head aketh*, raising his revengeful and impious Doctrine upon it; That a sick Head was to be taken off; and in the Revolutions that attended this unhappy *King*, and *Richard* the Second, the *Clergy* were always ready to Sanctifie, and the *Lawyers* to make Rebellion Legal.

The *King* had now the Clamorous effects of ill *Councels* calling too loud upon him, yet saw no way left to recover or repair the *Misfortune* those *Errors* had brought him into. Wherever he went he found no Subjects, those

with

with their Hearts were loſt before, but led by as uncertain Councels as his *Life* was Govern'd. He knew not whether to fly, but only fled: He ſaw *London* was unſafe, who were all turn'd from *Duty* to him, in *Affection* to the *Queen*: Nor cou'd he propoſe any place to himſelf, where he had not reaſon to expect certain *Enemies*, or worſe, uncertain *Friends*. After many Motions, as various as his former Humors, he deſign'd for the *Iſle* of *Lundy*, and takes with him the Earl of *Gloceſter*, the *Spencers* and *Robert Baldock*, that was *Chancellor*, and with ſome few others takes ſhipping; ſhewing how Man's Nature waits upon *Fortune*, and *changes* with it. They that before cou'd not be content with ſo much *Plenty* and *Dominion*, ſhew'd now no more Ambition, than what a ſmall naked *Iſland* cou'd ſatisfie, where *Safety* was their only *Hope*, and a choſen *Priſon* their *Liberty*.

The *King* had left the *Government* of the City of *London* to *Walter Stapleton* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and Lord Treaſurer; but the *City* to ſhew their good will to the *Queen*, among the many Teſtimonies ſhe received, gave a bloody one of their Devotion to her increaſing Succeſs, and ſtruck off the *Biſhop's* Head, and ſeiz'd the Tower of *London*, killing many in their Fury, and acting thoſe *Lawleſs Cruelties* that they before Condem'd.

Theſe ſtrange Revolutions evidently ſhew'd the various Powers of *Adverſity* and *Proſperity*, how it depreſſes ſome below themſelves, and lifts up others beyond their Reaſon and Conſciences: The *Queen*, that had been before the repairer of her *Husband's* Errors, now makes uſe of them to her *Husband's* ruin: She that us'd to bring *Peace* to heal thoſe Wounds *Ill Councels* had made, brought

brought *War* now to make them wider; and whilſt ſhe Condemn'd thoſe *Diſeaſes* that made the Nation ſick, ſhe made *Rebellion* the *Cure*. But ſucceſs (as it was us'd to do) made her not only act worſe than her ſelf, but worſe than thoſe ſhe had ſo Condemn'd. At firſt ſhe only declared againſt the *Favourites*, and perhaps then only deſign'd their ruins: but ſhe ought not with the loſs of her own *Vertue*, to try to Cure what the want of it in others had cauſed. But had not the rapidneſs of her *Good Fortune* hurried her ſo faſt from her ſelf, ſhe might have diſcern'd ſhe was expos'd upon ſo violent a Stream, as wou'd carry her by its own Force, and not by her Direction; and others at laſt wou'd uſe that Power, which, in ſuch Caſes as theſe are, is ſeldom retain'd long by the *Raiſers* of it. Mighty Cauſes, that bring Diſorders, like Tempeſts,

ples, raise up things first, and toss up unthought of Ruines upon them; and a Succession of mischief lasts till the Storm ceases. No *Age* but this afforded these Examples, and yet we see it not powerful enough to teach those, who would be safe in Vertue, not to hazard being Corrupted by Power violently obtain'd.

The *Queen* now, with still encreasing Forces, pursues her flying *King* and *Husband*, and from *Oxford* marches to *Glocester*, and from thence to *Bristol*, where the *King* had put the Earl of *Arundel*, and *Spencer* the Father to defend the Place, which was fortified as well as the time wou'd give them leave: But this Place quickly yielded to that success, which seem'd to deny all hopes to the *King's* declining Condition. *Spencer*, was there taken, and executed with all the Rigour that *Revenge* and *Conquest* cou'd invent,

vent, and with as much *Contempt* of Law, as he and his Son had formerly ſhewed. They Condemn'd him without any Tryal, and prevented his natural *Determination*, which cou'd not have been long, being then Fourſcore years old.

Proclamation was about this time made, That if the *King* wou'd come in, and conform himſelf to the *Laws* and *Government*, he ſhould be reſtor'd by the *General Conſent* of the *People*. But the *King* either durſt not, or his Favourite *Spencer* durſt not let him truſt this Declaration. Such Miniſters made deſperate, hold their *King* the ſafer, the more ſinking their Condition is; and rather choſe that the *Hazard* of their *Prince* may ſave them, than their *Ruin* ſave their *Prince*: Though perhaps in his Proſperous Condition they flatter'd him, that their *Lives* and *Fortunes* ſhou'd be

be always *Sacrifices* for him. But 'tis equally strange, that *Princes* in great Power and Prosperity, shou'd with pleasure believe *Flatterers*, and that those Interested *Flatterers* should hope to be believed; it shews a fatal Weakness in the one, and loose Designs in the other.

Those also that put forth this *Proclamation* to call the *King* to his own *Government*, did perhaps as little desire he shou'd embrace it: For this was but once *done*, and seem'd a thing rather us'd to *cover* what was intended, than a *clear* Intention in it self. For the eager pursuit of the *King* was still continued, who (as some say) seeking to Land in *Lundy*, was driven by Tempest into *Wales*, and in the Abby of *Nethe* in *Glamorganshire* lay some time conceal'd. From *Hereford* the *Queen* divided part of her Army, under the Command of *Henry* Earl of

of *Lancaſter*, into *Wales*, in purſuit of the *King*, who by the means of one *Ryce ap Powel* (who was well acquainted in the Country) took the *King* in a Monaſtery: This Earl of *Lancaſter* was Brother to him that was beheaded at *Pomfret*, and ſeem'd to ſhew a Powerful purſuit of *Blood*, to bring the King into the Mercy of a Family where he had ſhew'd ſo little.

Others ſay, that the *King* and and the younger *Spencer* were in the Caſtle of *Briſtol* when it was beſieged, from whence (fearing the Event) he with the younger *Spencer* ſtole away by night, and endeavouring to eſcape by Sea, his Boat was beaten back; and trying to put out again, it was diſcover'd by the Lord *Beaumont*, who chas'd them with a ſmall Veſſel, and took the *King* and *Spencer* in it. However they all agree, that *Spencer* was taken with him,

as

as if the *King* muſt always appear inſeparably from the Cauſe of his Misfortunes.

The Earl of *Arundel* that was taken at *Briſtol* with others were beheaded, at the Inſtance of *Mortimer*, who now Govern'd the *Queen's* Affections and Affairs. This Earl of *Arundell* was generally allowed a brave Character, and ſeem'd to be Guilty of no Fault but Loyalty to an unfortunate King, unleſs his Relation to the younger *Spencer*, who marryed his Daughter. The ſame thing that creates a proſperous Intereſt in one Condition, brings Ruine in another; or elſe it ſeem'd improbable, that ſo brave a Gentleman ſhou'd dye like a Trayter only for being Loyal.

The younger *Spencer* was carryed along only to Grace the *Queen's* marching Triumph: and as the chief Cauſe of her taking Arms, he was render'd as Contemptible

temptible a Spectacle as was poſſible, and expos'd in a fitting Poſture to increaſe the Storms and Reproaches, that uſe to attend ſuch miſerable Objects: And perhaps ſome were mingled in the Crowd, that had formerly in his proſperous Greatneſs ſaluted him with fawning Acclamations. At laſt he was eaſed of all his Sufferings, though by a *Death* as full of Torments, as cou'd be imagin'd, which yet he endur'd with much ſeeming calmneſs; perhaps wearied with ſo much ſhame and miſery, he might be willing any way to find an undiſturbed Quietneſs.

A *Parliament* was preſently called, where it was agreed the *King* ſhou'd be Depos'd, and his Son placed in his *Throne*; who hearing of it, refus'd ſuch an untimely Succeſſion, without the Conſent and Reſignation of his Father. Commiſſioners were immediately

mediately Deputed, conſiſting of *Lords* and *Biſhops*, to go to the *King*: But before they came, the ready Biſhops of *Hereford* and *Lincoln* had preſſed the *King* to yield to the powerful Decrees of the Nation; and added, no queſtion, ſpecious Petences how well he ſhou'd be provided for, and live more happily, than the various Cares of a Crown wou'd ever permit him: Yet mingled *Threatnings*, That if he refus'd quietly to reſign to his *Son*, the Fury of the Incens'd *Nation* wou'd not only Deſtroy *Him*, but perhaps his *Poſterity*.

The *King* ſeem'd quietly to ſubmit, and a little after the *Commons* come to receive his *Reſignation*, and were ſeated in a Form ready for the Ceremony. The *King* came out in Mourning, and at the ſight of a form'd Power ready to take away *His*, ſunk down; but being recover'd to a miſerable

miſerable Life, the Biſhop of *Hereford* deliver'd the Cauſe of their coming. After which *Truſſell* a Lawyer, and Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, pronounces a Form of renouncing all Allegiance to *Edward* of *Caernarvon*; to which (as moſt Writers ſay) the *King* made not the leaſt Anſwer, but turn'd about, and went out. *There* were Articles alſo exhibited againſt him; and his Son with much Ceremony choſen King in *Weſtminſter-Hall* with the full conſent of the People; which gave the occaſion to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to chooſe for the Subject of his Sermon, *Vox populi, Vox Dei*; exhorting the People to pray for the *King* they had choſen: Thus the Lawyer found out a Legal Method for the People to deprive their *King* of Sovereignty; and the Divines Conſecrated their mighty Power, in calling their *Voice*, a *Divine Election*.

Philip de Comines in his Third Book takes notice, That the Great Earl of *Warwick* subdu'd *England* in Eleven days; and *King Edward* the Fourth recover'd it in One and twenty. Though these were sudden Revolucions, yet the Fortune of them was dispos'd by many Battels: but this was as sudden, yet without a Blow, which shews no Force to be greater than the Power of *Injuries* and *Oppressions*. For though in Prosperity and the full gust of Power, this mighty Force lying (as it were) in an Ambush in the Vexed Minds of injur'd Subjects, is undiscern'd and slighted: And the fatal Precedents made by the Errours of *others*, are seldom made use of to our *selves*; yet when it begins to shew it self, it seems no wonder, that the united Minds of all conclude for themselves. But Men are so much their own Flatterers, that

that they believe every thing Permanent they wish to be so; and Favourites that cannot submit to share a *Common Benefit*, venture at *uncertain Advantages*, and make it a Principle to depend more upon Men's Fears than Love. By the *Mighty* and *Ambitious* Mischiefs and Disturbances are wrought, but the *Weak* and *Moderate* desire Peace and Quietness.

The unhappy *King* was now kept in Confinement with a small allowance, that he might be deprived of all things, that resembled a Princes Condition; and suffer'd now for his unsteady *Errors*, as much perhaps by the wounding reflection of their Memory, as by what he endured for them. But too late he was taught Truth by Misery; and saw the Difference to lose those Friends that cou'd preserve him, and keep none but only such as could help to destroy

him. *Princes* ſometimes believe that the right of *Power* ſhould preſerve them, notwithſtanding the want of Conſcience in the uſing of it. But when their *Errors* have contracted Enemies, and the ſame Errors raiſed Accidents enough to give power and opportunity to thoſe Enemies, miſguided Princes (like this unhappy *King*) will find that ſuch with as much want of Conſcience will revenge their Wrongs, as they ſhew'd by the Oppreſſion.

It now appear'd that the *Graves* of *Princes* are ever near their *Priſons*. This unhappy one above all things deplored, That his *Wife*, whom he had ever loved, wou'd not be got to ſee him. But ſhe was now poſſeſſed by her paſſion for *Mortimer*, that all her Duty and Vertue was Sacrific'd, and her *Husband* was now as much her apprehenſion as averſion. *Mortimer* was as jealous as he could

could be, and never thought himſelf ſafe in his Enjoyments, while the *King* liv'd. They cou'd be inform'd of the murmuring whiſpers of their Courſe of Life, and that hard uſage of the *King* proceeded from thence, and therefore looked upon the *King's Death* as their only *ſecurity*. His Keepers were therefore changed by the advice of that ready Counſellor of miſchief, the Biſhop of *Hereford*; for Sir *Maurice Berkley*, in whoſe Cuſtody he was, had been tamper'd with, and not found ready for the intended Villany, he was therefore taken from *Henchworth Caſtle*, and committed to Sir *Thomas Gourney* and Sir *John Matravers*, who carry'd him to *Corf-Caſtle*, a place (ſome write) that he always declared an apprehenſive averſion to; from thence to *Briſtol*, from whence upon ſome ſuſpicion of a Plot for his eſcape, he was convey'd to *Berkley*

Castle; where by those barbarous Villains he was wretchedly murthered with a *hot Iron*, thrust through a Pipe up behind into his Bowels; which way they thought wou'd perhaps make the least discovery by what Death he died; though his Groans and Cryes sufficiently proclaim'd the Violence of it.

Some write, That the Bishop of *Hereford* by a dark Sentence instigated the Murtherers to hasten the Execution by this Line; *Edwardum occidere nolite Timere bonum est*: At once giving them encouragement, and concealing an excuse for himself: But Ecclesiastical *Riddles* are dangerous, and sometimes their *Expositions* of *Texts* have been no other.

After this horrid Execution, the Murderers *Gourney* and *Matravers* expected Rewards; but found the *Queen* and *Bishop* readier rather to threaten and accuse them,

them, than to own the Service; and were forc'd to fly beyond Sea to seek safety for their loath'd Lives. But *Gourney* after three years was taken, and sent to *England*, and by the way had his Head struck off. *Matravers* fled into *Germany*, where in Repentance he had time to wast a miserable Life.

This *King* Reigned something above Eighteen years, and was *murther'd* in the 43*d*. year of his Life: His Body was carryed to *Glocester*, and there buryed without any Ceremony. His *Character* I will reserve till I join it with *Richard* the Second; since the same Methods and Errors in Government workt the same Effects, and both *Princes* equally unfortunate.

The Reigns of *Edward* the Second, and *Richard* the Second (to which I am now proceeding) may be justly said to be as *Meze-*

ray calls the Reign of *Henry* the Third of *France* [*The Reign of Favourites*] who did enervate all his Vertues, and dispos'd him to loosenes and carelesnes; deafen'd and confounded him with Flatteries, prompting to observe no *Law* but his *Will*, while they were the Disposers of all things. At which many great Men and others retired discontented, and left the Favourite-Ministers at large to pursue their Ambition, and with new Inventions to waste, and pillage the *King's* Revenue.

This Description suits with the beginning of this unfortunate King *Richard* the Second, who after the death of his *Grandfather*, that great Prince *Edward* the Third, succeeded him in the Throne: His Father the Famous *Black Prince*, dying in his Father's time; who by contrary Methods to what they us'd, met as

contrary

contrary Fortunes. The Comelineſs and Beauty of his Perſon (exceeding all his Predeceſſors) only ſeem'd to Entitle him to a Generous *Father*, and as beautiful a *Mother*. But that promiſing Perſon, which might have become *great Actions*, was turned to *Looſeneſs* and *Pleaſures*; and Flatterers broke in to encourage that diſſolute Careleſneſs, which they found wou'd be ſuitable to his Nature, and their Ambitious Deſigns.

The three chief Favourites and Miniſters were *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, afterwards Marquiſs of *Dublin*, and Duke of *Ireland*: *Michael Delapool* Earl of *Suffolk*; and *Robert Treſilian* Lord Chief Juſtice. The Duke of *Ireland* ſeem'd the beſt, as hardly he cou'd do otherwiſe, being ſet with two ſuch *Foils*; but he wanted Vertue and Courage, without the exceſs of Vices of the other two.

Michael

Michael Delapoole was a model of complicated Vices; in Peace the most odiously Insolent, in War the most dejectedly Contemptible; He despised all methods of *Quietness*, and yet was frighted with the least *Disturbance*. *Tresilian* the Chief Justice was one that never shew'd his Place or Title by any practice, but ready to prostrate all *Law* to Occasion, and *Justice* to Designs: His *Knowledg* was *Lewdness*, and his *Vertue Violence*; what others design'd he was ready to execute, and being kept up in this Darkness, he grew fierce on all things that were cast to him.

This *King* was called *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, because born there, the only Son of the *Black Prince*. By his Grandfather *Edward* the Third he was in his Life time declared his Successor: And after his Death was Crowned at *Westminster* (in the year 1377) by *Simon*

mon Sudbury Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with great Solemnity. The *King* being then eleven years old. The Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, the King's Uncles, with other Lords and Bishops, were joyned in Commission to manage the State.

The Minority of the King gave foreign Princes an Opinion, that it was a proper time to attempt upon *England*; the *French* first laid hold on the Occasion, and landed Forces, and did some mischief, and burnt some places near the Sea: As about *Rye*, *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plimouth*; as also, *Hastings* and *Winchelsea*: The Scots also assaulted the Castle of *Berwick*, and won it, but it was taken again by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*, and all put to the Sword, but *Ramsey*, who took it by a bold and desperate attempt with a few Men.

These

Theſe troubles occaſion'd a *Parliament* to be called at *Weſtminſter*, where *Alice Pearce* the Concubine to the late King *Edward* the Third was baniſh'd, and all her Goods confiſcated: A Tax was then given of two Tenths of the Clergy, and two Fifteenths of the Temporalty: Others write the Tax was a Poll of four Pence upon every Head; but which way ſoever it was, either the Levying it, or the Tax it ſelf, cauſed a ſudden and ſtrange *Inſurrection*, begun by the infuſion of one *Wiat*, a Factious Prieſt, uſing theſe Common Notions againſt great Men, who had power to oppreſs others, and ruine the meaner ſort to ſupport their Greatneſs and Luxuries. This ſpread to the City, who gave intelligence, that they were ready to join with the Rabble, that appeared gather'd from many adjacent Countries. This confuſed

Body

Body chose one *Wat Tyler* for their Captain, whose Assistants, or Privy-Councellers, were *John Ball*, *Jack Straw*, and *Jack Shepherd*.

Blackheath (as they marched to *London*) was their Rendezvous, where they appeared to be above Threescore Thousand; From thence they marched to *London*, declaring themselves for the *King* and *People*.

When they came to *London*, they were received either for Fear or Love, with all freedom, and treated as if they strove who shou'd express themselves best to the flatter'd Rebels, who (like such a Mass of Giddiness got together) committed nothing but Murther and Violence; They burnt the *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lancaster*'s House; they rifled the *Temple*, and destroyed the *Law-Books*, expressing a Spleen against any thing of that Nature; Nor were

were Churches or Religious Houſes ſpared; the good they puniſhed, the ill they cheriſhed, ſetting all Priſoners at Liberty; their Chief Leader, *Tyler*, remembring ſome Puniſhment that his old Maſter, *Richard Lyon*, had inflicted on him, for ſome Crime he had committed, without any more Tryal or Judgment than what his Revenge allowed, cauſed his Head to be ſtricken off, and carried before him on a Spear. Their Numbers were now ſo great, that the King durſt not reſiſt their Entrance into the *Tower*, where they abuſed his *Mother*, and took the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the *Chancellor*, and *Lord Treaſurer*, and dragging them to *Tower-Hill*, there beheaded them.

In the midſt of all theſe Outrages, the *King* proclaim'd a Pardon to all that would go quietly home; which the *Eſſex* men, and ſome others accepted; but the

Kentiſh

Kentiſh and others ſtayed with their Captain *Tyler:* So that it ſeem'd as if part of this Rabble were not in the ſecret intention to ſubvert the Government, and throw down all above themſelves from Oppreſſion: About 20000. continued with their Captain: The *King* looking upon this as a good beginning, preſented himſelf in Perſon before the Rebels, and ſpoke to them with all ſweetneſs, promiſing them Pardon and Favour; but had ſo rude a return from *Tyler*, that inſtead of Submiſſion, he demanded the King's Sword; at which the *Mayor* of *London* drew his, and ſtruck him to the ground, where he was preſently killed. The Rabble ſeem'd to threaten Revenge; But the *City* hearing this, and thinking it high time to free their *King* and themſelves from Ruine and Deſtruction, came to his Relief with a body of men; at which

which ſight the affrighted Rebels yielded, and ſome fled, and deliver'd up their *Ringleader*; a Sacrifice that ſeldom fails to be made by ſuch Tumults. *Jack Straw*, at his Execution, confeſſed their Deſign of deſtroying all that were above them in Name or Fortune.

The *King*'s chief Favourites now appeared to be *Michael Delapoole*, made *Chancellor* of *England*, and after *Earl* and *Duke* of *Suffolk*; *Robert de Vere*, *Marqueſs* of *Dublin*, and after *Earl* of *Ireland*; *Alexander Archbiſhop* of *York*, and *Treſilian* the *Chief Juſtice*. The firſt Teſtimony that theſe ſhewed of their Animoſities againſt the Methods of a juſt Miniſter, was the diſplacing Sir *Richard Scroope*, *Lord Chancellor*, who in all things uſed an impartial uprightneſs, which was an Offence to their looſe and partial Deſigns.

But

But they did not only ſharpen the King's Nature againſt men in point of Offices and Employments, but againſt their *Lives*. The firſt appearance of this was by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, whoſe *Offences* were likewiſe from his *Vertues*, and his Ruine therefore contrived by them, and reſolv'd by *Treſilian* to be done by *Form* of *Law*; the worſt ſort of *deſtroying* when violated; but when truly obſerv'd, the beſt *defence* againſt *deſtruction*.

There are ſeldom any *extream Proceedings* in a *Government*, but there are *depraved perſons* enough in all Conditions ready to ſwim with the *ſtream*, and take the benefit of any Tide of Fortune: For when *Miſchief* is to be practiſed, *Corruption* is the Conſequence; and there are always thoſe ready, whom no Conſideration ballances in their Natures with Honour and Benefit. *Treſilian* was one of thoſe

thus prepared, and cou'd hardly want as well-condition'd *Informers* and *Juries*: Occaſions preſerved from men is the ſureſt Cauſe of their Vertue; but offered from thoſe that ſhould depreſs it, is the Cauſe and Temptation of Villany. Crimes were prepared for the *Duke*, he never committed; a Jury of *Lords* were fix'd, and it was not only deſign'd he ſhou'd be arreſted, but his *Condemnation* was as confidently reſolved and concluded.

Theſe things were not ſo ſecretly contriv'd, but the Duke of *Lancaſter* had notice of them, and privately retir'd, or rather fled to *Pomfret-Caſtle*, where he prepar'd to defend himſelf; and already *Diſcontents* grew ſo high, that he wanted not aſſiſtance for it, and grew ſo conſiderable, that the *Queen-Mother* thought it worthy her pains in all reſpects to endeavour a *Compoſure*, which ſhe effected

cted, assisted by the apprehension of her *Son*, and the *Duty* which the *Duke* of *Lancaster* seem'd yet to retain; so that for this time every thing was compos'd, unless their Minds, which once shaken by indirectness and mistrust, are seldom so purely clear'd, but that some Seeds of *Jealousie* lie ready to spring upon the heat of any Difference. Without Trust, the *Traffick* amongst Dealers in petty things can never be carried on, and much less the *Commerce* between *Prince* and *Subjects*, without *Credit*.

The *King* now enter'd upon the assuming the *Government* into his own Hands, and from this time grew liable to his own Errors, appearing wholly regardless of all his great *Relations* and *Nobility*, and only seem'd kind to a fondness of his *Chancellor*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Ireland*, and their two subservient

Friends, the Archbiſhop of *York* and *Treſilian* the Chief Juſtice, they that had now gain'd the poſſeſſion of the King's Power and Inclination, ſhew'd a great Teſtimony of their ill uſe of it, by diſpoſing the *King* againſt his brave *Uncle* the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*.

The *King* was now wholly poſſeſt by theſe Favourites, and in a particular manner by the Chancellor *Delapoole*, whoſe mean Birth was ſuitable to his Qualities: His *Vices* ſo many, that he was himſelf a *Grievance*; and it ſeem'd a fatal unhappineſs, that the *King's Conſcience* ſhou'd be intruſted unto ſo bad a Keeper; but the *King* was as violent in his *Affections* as others could be in their *Diſpleaſures*; He ſeldom regarded what others thought, till neceſſity forced the Conſideration.

Theſe men that both fear'd and hated any men of Honour and Quality, that might have Intereſt to croſs their Deſigns, laid hold of an Occaſion to be rid of one of the greateſt, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, by aſſiſting him with Forces to conquer *Spain*, which he claim'd in right of his Wife *Conſtance*, Daughter and Co-heir of *Peter* (who was ſurnamed the *Cruel*), King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*: With very conſiderable Forces he ſail'd for *Spain*; He landed at the *Troyne*, and at *Compoſtella* met with the King of *Portugal*, where a Marriage was concluded with his Daughter; and after ſome *Incurſions* made into the Countrey of *Caſtile*, *a Peace* and *Marriage* was alſo effected between the King of *Spain*'s Eldeſt Son, and *Katharine* of *Lancaſter*; and ſo reſign'd the Title to *Spain* for a Compoſition, by a ſum of Money and a Penſion.

This look't like the *feeble Policy* of violent and self-interested *Counsellors*, which was applied to Men and not to Things, as if the removal of Two or Three that oppos'd their Designs, took all the Danger away that attended them: As long as there were injured men, they must have Enemies; and their safety was no way probable but by better Principles and Practices: Besides, there were other Lords left behind, made Popular by the same Errors: But they design'd to ruine, if they cou'd, all that were in their way; and after grew very busie in designing to murder the Duke of *Glocester*, every day contriving some ill, and by their heavy wickedness loading their *King*.

A little after the Rebellion, the *King* married with *Anne*, the *Daughter* of the Emperour *Charles* the Fourth, whom he loved passionately; for whose sake he refus'd the

the Daughter of the Duke of *Milan*, who was offer'd him, and with her a *Dowry* much more considerable: She liv'd with him Twelve Years, but without *Issue*, and died at *Sheen* by *Richmond*; which great loss made the place ever hated after by the *King*, who in all things shew'd he was a Man of great *Affections*; which are unfortunate Vertues when wrong placed.

About this time the *King* declared *Roger Mortimer* his *Heir* and *Successor*, who was the Son of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, Third Son of King *Edward* the Third, who was afterwards killed in *Ireland*: He also created his Uncles, *Edmund* of *Langley*, Duke of *York*, and *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, Duke of *Glocester*, and his Cousin *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke* (Son and Heir to his Fourth Uncle, *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*), Earl of *Derby*: His Cousin *Edward*

Plantagenet (Son and Heir to his Uncle *Edmund* of *Langley*), he created Earl of *Rutland*; Sir *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, and *Thomas Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham*.

In the Parliament, in which these Creations were made, was exhibited a Charge of many Particulars, and of very great Natures, against Chancellor *Delapoole*; in whith one particular was the abusing and cozening the *King*. But this had only an Audience, and no Examination, which gave so much offence, that an *Aid* demanded was denied; and Reasons given, that it was to no purpose to give money, when the ill use of it was countenanced. This seem'd a wrong Method to ask and be denied, and at the same time neither to have Power enough to enforce, nor Obligations to obtain; but 'twas not proper for his Favourites to tell him they

they doubted ſucceſs with his Parliament, ſince that were to own ſuch *apprehenſions* ſprung from their ambitious *Errors*. But Princes are rightly ſaid to be us'd like froward Children, flatter'd, and condemn'd never to hear the Truth.

But the Parliament ſtill preſſed the Examination of the Charge; and the Neceſſity of the King's Affairs, concurring with their importunity, procured what they ſo warmly deſired: The Cauſe was put to ſelected *Noblemen* to examine; and a Subſidy ſeem'd the purchaſe of it, which was afterwards granted.

The *Cauſe* then being heard by his *Peers*, the Duke of *Glocester*, and Earl of *Arundel* being Two of the Judges, he was convicted, deprived of his Office and Chattels, and condemn'd to be executed: But all this ſeem'd rather *Arguments* of *Merit*, than

Cauſes

Cauſes of *Puniſhment*; For the *King* preſently after reſtored him into the former Favour, as if he had ſuffer'd for his ſake. Thus as *Edward* the Second received *Gaveſton* from Baniſhment, and his Subjects hate, to his Arms and Love; ſo this unfortunate and reſembling *King* received this Earl of *Suffolk* from Execution, and the Proſecution of his Parliament, to increas'd Affection and Truſt; as if *Crimes* found out, and proſecuted by a Parliament, had been the *Teſtimonies* of *Merit*, and *Arguments* for a *Prince's Fnvour:* Theſe unſteddy Councils increas'd miſtruſt in the Subjects, who now began to ſee they were too light to make a Poiſure with his Favourites: And to confirm their worſt *apprehenſions*, the Duke of *Ireland*, who had been driven away by the Diſpleaſure that was contracted againſt him, now return'd with equal Credit and Principles with

with the Earl of *Suffolk*; to whom alſo joined the Archbiſhop of *York*, to ſtrengthen their Power, and weaken their *King*'s; for they who had influence enough to make a *Prince* believe their Cauſe to be his, might eaſily carry him on to revenge theſe Affronts, he now aſſumed to be his own: To this belongs the ſame Fate that attends indirect unſteddy Counſels; they muſt be maintained by the Ruine or Oppreſſion of thoſe that ſuffer'd by them, and no method taken for the Preſervation of any, but they that merited the Puniſhment.

The Argument that was, and muſt be uſed to deceive *Princes*, was then enforced by theſe *Favourite-Miniſters*, That the Arrows ſhot at them, were intended againſt the *Prince*; and 'twas but a method of Rebellion to confine a *King*, on whom to confer his Favour; and therefore to avoid the

the Diſhonour of a *Limited Monarchy*, he muſt now uſe Power, and declare his Truſt in that only. With this flattery, they raiſe their *King* to a fatal Confidence in that, which muſt in time deceive miſguided Princes: For perhaps, for ſome time, Apprehenſion and Conſcience may preſerve a ſhew of Peace, yet at laſt Errour and Oppreſſion will diſturb ſuch a weak-ſetled Calm.

The *King* thus rais'd by *Flattery* above his *Power*, and ſharpned by falſe Arguments beyond his *Nature*, they proceed ſeemingly to act his Cauſe, but really to revenge themſelves; and (like the other Favourites in King *Edward*'s Time) wrap their *Prince*'s Fall and Hazard, and their own together, while they are only the King's *Loyal Subjects*, and the Kingdom his and their own *guilty Enemies*.

The

The *Memory* of *Suffolk*'s Tryal and *Condemnation*, was the first Cause that incited them against those that were his Judges, the Duke of *Glocester* and others, on whose Destruction they first resolved, as being the most considerable; nor feared his near Relation to the *King*, for they knew their Power was gotten above his Nature or Consideration. The first Design was to invite *Glocester* and others to a Supper in *London*, and there murther them; which (some write) was discover'd by the Duke to *Exton*, the then Mayor of *London*; and so the Mischief was prevented for that time.

About this time the Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham* (who were engaged with the Duke of *Glocester*, in the Tryal and Censure of the Chancellour *Suffolk*) Commanded the Navy; and did so many brave Actions, that all mouths were fill'd with just Prai-

ses;

ſes; the King's only excepted, to whom Satisfaction did moſt belong: For at their Return, they found ſuch a cold Reception from the *King*, that it ſeem'd they were rather forgiven for Miſdemeanours, than receiv'd for Merits: The ſtrangeneſs of his Words told too plainly, That *publick Merit* loſt its Nature, when the *Deſert* was in the Enemies of his Favourites.

How much more limited is a *King*, by ſuch as inflame him againſt the Diſhonour of it? He muſt neither reward *Vertue*, nor puniſh *Vice*; his beſt and braveſt Subjects muſt not be eſteem'd, nor his worſt queſtion'd nor puniſh'd.

The Duke of *Ireland*, with as much Arbitrary Power as he perſwaded the *King* to aſſume, put away his *Wife*, the Duke of *Glocester*'s Daughter; and marryed a Vintners, ſome ſay a Joyners Daughter: The injur'd *Lady* often petition'd the *King*, but without

ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, her Injury was done by a Favourite, where his Nature was more tyed than to his own Blood: Upon no leſs nouriſhment can growing Favourites proſper, than by their Princes loſs of Intereſt and Honour.

The Duke of *Gloceſter*, bore it not ſo calmy; but told the Duke of *Ireland* plainly, he wou'd revenge it, who from that time grew more aſſiduous to contrive the Deſtruction of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, but at the preſent his pretended Journey to *Ireland* kept all ſilent, which after many delays he ſeemingly began; and was accompanied in great State by the *King* himſelf, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the ready Chief Juſtice *Treſilian*.

But this proved only a Journey through *Wales*, and ſo about to *Nottingham*, where they enter'd in private and *black Conſultations*. The firſt was to *deſtroy* the Lords; and

and for that end ſummon'd the Sheriffs of every County; and plainly asked them what they cou'd promiſe againſt the Lords, if the *King* ſhould require it: Their Anſwers were for the moſt part, That the People were very much ſatisfied in their Opinions, That the *Lords* were lovers of their *King* and *Country*, and therefore durſt promiſe nothing in that matter.

The Tryal was then made to pack a *Parliament*, by contriving *Elections* as the *King* ſhould appoint: But this received as cold a return.

To what a loſe Hazard they had now reduced their *King*, to attempt unſucceſsfully to break by *force*, or in a Legal way to make the Nation deſtroy it ſelf: The laſt was without queſtion, the moſt dangerous deſign, *force* may enſlave for little time, but *ſlavery by Law* is like to endure longer,

but

but the People were not then couzen'd enough; and indeed it must be the Concurrence of strange Accidents, the fairness of an undiscover'd Dissimulation, and the Opportunity embraced in the same Moment, that must so infatuate the People, as to make their Ruin their Choice.

The last attempt was design'd by surer means, the *Judges*, who kept and seem'd to deserve their Places for the Compliance; of these were summoned the two Chief Justices *Tresilian* and *Belknap* with others, and to them were put *Queries*, which might comprehend the safety of the *Ministers*, and the danger of all they pleased beside.

The *Questions* were to comprehend so large a *Treason*, that it could not miss to find *Traitors*; for, by them resolved, the very *Constitution* of the Nation was *Treason*.

The firſt *four Queries* concern'd the Duke of *Suffolk* moſt particularly, and with him all Favourites: For the Caſe was put, Whether the Law it ſelf, and the *Commiſſion* for his Tryal, did not derogate from the Kings Authority? and then how they were to be proceeded with, that procured ſuch a *Law*? and how they were to be dealt with, that provoked the King to aſſent to it?

The *Fifth Queſtion*: What they merited that oppos'd the Kings remitting or releaſing *Penalties*, or *Debts* due to him?

The ſixth, ſeventh, eighth and ninth, conſiſted of Queſtions, Whether *Parliaments* could proceed upon any buſineſs, but ſuch as the *King* ſhould propoſe and limit by Articles? And whether the *Lords* and *Commons* aſſembled in Parliament might accuſe any of the *King's Officers* without his *Leave*?

The

The *Tenth* was ſingly for the Duke of *Suffolk*, Whether the *Judgment* given in the laſt *Parliament* againſt him, were *Erroneous* and *Revocable*.

'Tis improbable, that ſuch queſtions as theſe ſhou'd be propos'd to any Perſons, that had the Names of *Juſtices*, unleſs there had been before a received aſſurance of the *Anſwers* they wou'd give. Accordingly it appear'd, for they returned not any anſwer doubtingly or modeſtly, but determined all to be *Treaſon*, and the Offenders worthy the *death* of *Traytors*.

The *laſt Article* they reſolved with as much clearneſs (*viz.*) That the Proceedings and Judgment againſt the Duke of *Suffolk* were *Erroneous* and *Revocable*; and accordingly deliver'd theſe bald Opinions under their Hands and Seals.

It ſeem'd as if they durſt judge no Crime leſs than Treaſon, that offended the Miniſters; though by their bold Opinions, the *Parliament* it ſelf became the *Traytors*, and a *Statute Law* the *Treaſon*.

This I ſuppoſe was highly applauded by the *Miniſters*, and the *King* flatter'd to believe what excellent Servants he had of ſuch Judges, by whoſe briskneſs not only the *Law*, but the troubleſome *Conſtitution* it ſelf of the *Nation* might be rendred as uſeleſs as Arbitrary Power cou'd deſire: For if ſuch Laws that ſeem'd to limit a *King*, ſhou'd in themſelves become void for that very Cauſe, there could no Law be valid, but ſuch as pleas'd the Soveraign, who was the *Judge* of his own *Infringment*; and then all paſt *Laws*, and *Laws* to be made, would become but proſtituted *Writings* to the *Will* of *Princes*.

Perhaps

Perhaps at that time these Judges had the Character of being the most *Loyal*, for appearing most *desperate*, giving that great Testimony of their Devotion, that their Zeal for the *Favourites* was far warmer than for their *Countrey*, and involved themselves in their Fortunes by Principles as leud as their Designs.

The King looked upon the *Opinion* of these Judges as *Authentick*, and of *validity* enough to throw legally into his power the *Estates* and *Fortunes* of those *Lords* that appeared most Eminent against his *Ministers*; and accordingly he began to dispose of their Estates among those that he favoured, presuming them (without farther Tryal) Convicted Persons; and to maintain this absurdity by a worse, rais'd Soldiers privately, and sent to surprize the Earl of *Arundel*.

The Duke of *Glocester* having Intelligence of all these proceedings, got the Bishop of *London* to perswade the King from such Violences; and to assure him that he had never had an undutiful thought against him; and intimated how much more safe and Honourable it wou'd be for the *King* not to be led by false suggestions to such a fatal difference and severity with his best and greatest Subjects.

The *Bishop* performed this, with his best Skill and Zeal; and wrought so upon the *King*, that he seem'd inclin'd to a more happy Temper; but the Duke of *Suffolk*, that had all Peace and Justice (by which he knew he was to have little Benefit, nor cou'd be probably safe longer than while he kept his *King* in danger) quickly nipt the *King*'s budding Gentleness, and, like an untimely Frost, blasted the springing Hopes

of

of Peace, falling upon the *Bishop* with harsh and insolent Reproofs: But the *Bishop* not daunted with his *Power* and *Greatness*, boldly told him, That it was not the *Service* of his *Prince* that guided him, but his own *violent Ambition*; and that rather than the *Lords* shou'd not be destroy'd, he would involve the *Nations* in Ruine: Adding, That it was easie for such abject Spirits as his, to raise Tumults, which must be ended by the Ruine of the Bravest; nor was he fit to give Advice, that was the chief *Incendiary*, and made a Party by his *Condemnation*. The *King* was so angry to see his Favourite so roughly and boldly attacked, that he commanded the *Bishop* out of his sight.

In this particular, as in most of the *King*'s unhappy *Actions*, he appeared against *Himself* and his own *Reason*, being guided by the Duke of *Suffolk*, who was of a contrary

Intereſt, turn'd from his own *Nature* and *Reaſon*, by one that wanted *Senſe* and *Bowels*; and by this Unſteddineſs, kindled new Miſtruſts, the fruitful Nouriſhers of Civil Miſchiefs.

At this, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Derby*, take Arms; the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, and *Biſhop* of *Ely* (then Lord Chancellour) were ſent to the *Lords*; who compoſed Matters ſo well, that the *Lords* agreed to appear before the *King* at *Weſtminſter*, under the Promiſe of Protection: But retaining their uſual Jealouſies, they receiv'd the *Biſhop* of *Ely*'s Aſſurance, That if there were any Danger deſign'd them, he would give them notice. Accordingly he kept his Word; and a little before the *Lords* were to come, he gave them Intelligence of an Ambuſh laid for them at the *Mews*, to ſeize them as they came in: Upon this, the *Lords* fail'd of their

their coming; which the *King* wondring at, ask'd the Bishop of *Ely*, What might be the Reason? who boldly told him, That the *Lords* durst not trust him, and had discover'd the Trap laid for them: Of which the *King* seem'd to be wholly ignorant, and commanded the Sheriffs to search the *Mews*, and to kill and carry to Prison all they found conceal'd: But the Thing was true, though the Place mistaken; for the armed Men were secretly assembled at *Westminster* by Sir *Richard Bramber*, and Sir *Thomas Trivett*; who perceiving or being inform'd of the Discovery, secretly convey'd away their Men.

It seem'd as if the *King* were really ignorant of this that was acted by the desperate *Ministers*, who shew'd a full Confidence in the Power they had with the *King:* And tho' perhaps they apprehended the Action too vile to trust

truſt the *King* with it, yet they did not doubt to bring him to approve it, tho' never ſo baſe, if ſucceſsful enough: Nor hath this been an unuſual Method of Powerful Miniſters and Favourites, to contrive Miſchiefs for their *Prince* to approve; knowing that it is eaſier from the neceſſity of a Thing done, to gain an *Approbation*, than a *Conſent* to the Attempt of it: For a *Prince* that is wholly led by them, and wrapt up in their deſperate Counſels and Intereſts, may ſcruple at a thing to be done, that he cannot when 'tis effected: One is but a *difference* in Opinion, the other is a *deſertion* of his Party; he may be free in the firſt, but too much involved to be at liberty in the latter.

A *Prince* in this Condition, has not only his own Errours, but the weight of theirs to ſtruggle under; and 'tis impoſſible he ſhou'd make any Calculation of his own Fortune,

tune, unless he were free to examine the mischievous Effects of those ill Planets, that he Himself had rais'd to such powerful Influences.

At last, upon new Faith and Security, the *Lords* came to the *King* at *Westminster*; but so strongly guarded, that they did not appear like Men that came to Submit or Petition: Accordingly they challenged for *Traytors* the Duke of *Ireland*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Archbishop of *York*, the Chief Justice *Tresilian*, and others. The *King* at that time, when Favourites could not speak, spoke like himself (a *King*) and with equal Temper and Reason, shew'd the *Lords*, That if all were true they alledged, they had not taken the proper way too seek for *Justice*, by a shew of *Rebellion*; and give that opportunity to the licentious Multitude, which perhaps might be difficult to take again

gain from them: And, after having gently laid before them the more proper way for what they desired, he raised them from their knees, and retired with them.

All this while, the adverse Party kept out of the way, apprehending, as justly they might, the danger of such powerful and enraged Enemies.

This Action of the *King* is question'd by some Historians, whether done out of Apprehension, or a better Temper: But yet all this while that things bore this calm face, the Duke of *Ireland* gathered Forces, and was met and overthrown by the Earl of *Derby* near *Burford*: But he that was so bold in Counsel, shew'd little of Courage (when 'twas needful) in Action, and fled himself before the Fight scarce began.

Among many things that were taken of the Duke's, in one of his Trunks were found Letters from the

the *King* to haſten his coming to *London*, with what Power he could make, where the *King* wou'd be ready to ſhare Fortunes with him.

Upon the news of the Duke of *Ireland*'s Defeat, the Duke of *Suffolk* fled in a Diſguiſe to *Calice*, and never more returned.

It is a wonder that ever ſuch a Man ſhou'd get the aſcendant over a *Prince*; a Man that was profuſe of what he cou'd get; and got it as willingly by the Spoils of others, as by juſtifiable Ways. He was unfit for Peace, by his turbulent Nature, and wanted *Courage* to be troubleſome in *War*. In *Peace*, he was *furious*; in *War*, *calm*; never quiet, but when afraid; at all other times intemperate: When he was not deſigning Miſchief, his Courage or Occaſion fail'd him. He never ſeem'd good, but when neceſſity hindred him from appearing bad: He had no Fits of a

Diſeaſe,

Diſeaſe, but liv'd in a continual Leproſie.

But we have read of other Preſidents, how worthleſs Men have ſcru'd themſelves into *Princes Favours* by ſuch *Flatteries*, that generous Tempers cou'd not creep to: For ill Men ſtudy the *Nature* of *Princes*, good Men their *Intereſt*; and that which is moſt pleaſant, ſooner prevails than that which is moſt uſeful.

The Chief Juſtice *Treſilian*, with others of that *Faction*, fled from this Storm, and the *King* retir'd to the *Tower*, while the *Lords* with a great Army march'd towards *London*, and ſhew'd themſelves in a form of Battel to the *King*, who lay with his Forces in the Suburbs. The *King* at firſt ſeem'd to ſlight them, but at laſt yielded a Treaty. The *Tower* was the place appointed; but the *Lords* firſt made what ſearch they pleas'd, and came with ſuch Guards as they thought fit;

fit; at once ſhewing the ſevere effects of *Miſtruſt* and *Power*; the firſt ſeldom to be cured; the laſt, as ſeldom us'd with Modeſty: For when they came to the *King*, they plainly charg'd him by way of Accuſation of the *Contrivances* at *Nottingham* againſt them; his *Letters* to the Duke of *Ireland* (contrary to his *Word*) to raiſe Forces; the Agreement with the *French* to deliver up *Calice*; and other *Grievances* which the ill Conduct of the *King*'s *Miniſters* had plentifully furniſh'd them with.

At theſe *Truths*, told by thoſe that had Power enough to Revenge, the *King* inſtead of a Defence, ſunk into a Confeſſion of his *Errours*; which ſeem'd at that time to make a great Impreſſion on the *Lords*, and produced the Agreement of a meeting at *Weſtminſter* the next day.

But they were no ſooner gone, but the *King*'s Mind was turn'd by

by *Arguments* of the common frame, That by the Meeting, he wou'd expoſe his *Perſon* to danger, and his *Authority* to diminution. Which preſently chang'd the *King*, and ſhew'd as if a fatal *Mutability* was to purſue him to his end. To ſuch dangerous Methods he muſt probably be led by the Counſels of thoſe, whoſe deſperate Ambitions cou'd permit no directneſs to be us'd towards their *Enemies* the *Publick*. Such *Miniſters* are the Conſulters of Moments, ſhifting only for a preſent Preſervation, and dare not look towards the future; but refer Things to come, to the ſame Chance that rais'd them: They live to no *Rules*, but with an unlimited readineſs wait upon Occaſion.

This *Alteration* in the *King*, rais'd the *Lords* to ſuch a rage, that they ſent him word, That if he us'd ſuch Indirectneſs, they wou'd chooſe a New *King*. At this being again ſhaken,

ſhaken, he not only went, but ſubmitted to thoſe he had ſo enrag'd before; and delivers up that *Power*, which he was before counſell'd not to diminiſh: So that his ill-tim'd Counſels made that Misfortune ſure, which they ſeem'd careful to prevent.

A *Parliament* was preſently called, where *Treſilian* the famous Chief Juſtice was condemn'd, and preſently executed; as alſo the other Chief Juſtice, *Belknap*, and other Judges, and ſome baniſh'd. The *Lords* grew now ſo high by their Succeſs, that they exacted an Oath from their *King*, to become a *Subject* to them, and *ſubmit* to their *Government*. Thus when *Errours* provoke *Force*, 'tis hard for thoſe Jealouſies that urg'd the Attempt of *Pow-*

er, to ſuffer it to be us'd modeſtly, much leſs to be laid down when obtain'd: And when once a State begins to be toſt by ſuch Commotions, Parties in that Tempeſt, like Waves in Storms, purſue and daſh out one another.

Within little more than a Year after this, the *King* grew to be One and Twenty; and upon that took an Occaſion, when all things ſeem'd a little compos'd, to aſſume full Power. I cannot but here remember the *Character* the Impartial and Judicious *Mezeray* gives *Lewis* the *Eleventh* upon his Entrance upon the Throne, That he was the greateſt Enemy to his own and his Kingdoms Quiet; one that lov'd his own *Irregular Fancies* more than the *wiſe Laws*, and thought the greateſt

greateſt *Grandeur* conſiſted in the greateſt *Oppreſſion*, pulling down *great ones* to raiſe up the *meaneſt* from nothing. This, he ſays, another calls putting their Kings *Hors de Paye*; that is, out of their *Minority*; he ſhould have ſaid, putting them out of their *Senſe* and *Reaſon*.

No queſtion the Miniſters were ready to welcome him to that which they call'd the *Exerciſe* of his Power, when it was rather to the *Execution* of theirs.

The firſt practice of it was taking the *Great Seal* from the Biſhop of *Ely* (as if remembring his former Carriages), and gave it to *Wickham*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and diſplac'd many others; as if by that he ſeem'd to take Seizin of his new Power; ſuſpending alſo *Glocester* and *Warwick* from the *Privy-Council*.

The Tide now turn'd to the *King*, who began to return to follow thoſe *Advices* that had brought him to ſo much *hazard* before; And that Intereſt and Opinion which the *French* had work'd themſelves into, appear'd in all things to increaſe. The Duke of *Glocester*, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* had formerly temper'd the *King* with their calm and ſure Reaſons; when being enrag'd againſt the *Lords*, he ſwore he wou'd more willingly ſubmit and rely on the Protection of *France*, than thus to be made ſervile to thoſe he ought to command.

'Tis not unworthy of an Obſervation, how frequently the *French* have been prevalent in *England*; and always in ſuch Princes Times as have given ſo much Power

Power to *Miniſters* and *Favourites*, as made them conſiderable enough to be corrupted.

Philip de Comines ſays, That in his Time all the *Kings* of *England*'s Miniſters, and great Perſons, had Penſions from *France*, and gave their Acquittances upon every Receipt, which were to be ſeen in the Chamber of *Paris*.

Haſtings, the Lord great *Chamberlain*, was the only great Perſon that was hardly perſwaded to become a Penſioner of *France*, and that refus'd to give any Acquittance for what he receiv'd. The ſame *Hiſtorian* ſays, That he was the only man that perſwaded him to it, and had firſt perſwaded him to be ſo to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*; and when *Cleret* was ſent by King *Lewis*, with a

Preſent of 2000 Crowns, and deſired his Acquittance for his Diſcharge, as he had receiv'd it from the *Chancellor* and the *Admiral*: He anſwer'd, the Gift proceeded from his Maſter's Liberality, not his Requeſt: If he deſired he ſhou'd receive it, he might put it in his Sleeve; other Teſtimonial he ſhou'd get none of him; for he wou'd not that any ſhou'd ſay, That the *Lord Chamberlain* was *Penſioner* to the *French King*, nor that his Acquittance ſhou'd be found in the *Chamber* of *Accounts*. The *King* of *France* was angry with *Cleret* for bringing no *Acquittance*; bnt ever after preferr'd the Lord Chamberlain in his Eſteem before all the King of *England*'s other Servants.

I cannot diſcern much Reaſon for it; There ſeems little Differen ce

rence to me between one that is carelesly, and another that is cautiously dishonest: And those Ministers equally forgot the *Interest* of *England* for their own, to let them share in our Affairs and Councils. The People judg'd right in this, and Parliaments (as *Cemines* observes) were never corrupted in themselves and Judgments, and always perceiv'd the Dissimulation of the *French*; and in another place says, they were always willing to grant Aids against *France*; for they cou'd not be deceiv'd by Demonstration: which shew'd the Difference in our Methods and Constitution from theirs: Our *Laws* are suitable to our *Interest*, and our *Interest* secur'd by our *Laws*: Our Fashions and manner of Expences, shou'd be applicable to the Consumption of our own Productions. The *French* differ from the

first; and their Fancies are the only Measures of the last: They are not capable to live after the Methods of our Interest, but we may quit ours to assist theirs: *France* can be but of little use to us, but we may be of too much to them: They may receive, but can bring no advantage. They have reason then to be always *active*, to keep an *Interest* here by private means, since 'twere vain to hope it by publick ones; and *Cardinal Richelieu* well understood these Truths, when he call'd *England* their *Indies*.

About this time *Guido* Earl of St. *Paul* was sent by *Charles* the *French King*, to visit and complement *King Richard* and his *Queen*. The Earl, according to the ready Confidence of the *French*, became *Counsellor*: For one day the King discoursing with him,

him, he complain'd of the Duke of *Glocester*, and in particular, that he did passionately endeavour to disturb the Peace between *England* and *France*. The Earl presently gave Seutence against the Duke, and told the King plainly, he was not fit to live: For when a Subject was grown so great, a Prince was no longer safe; and if he meant to secure himself against Danger, the surest way was to destroy those from whence it might so easily come.

This Advice blew the *King's* Anger into a Flame; and he began to express to some of his great men, his Displeasure against the Duke of *Glocester*; but he found in them all an high Opinion of the Duke's Honour and Vertue: So that the King began to calm again, and shew'd

ſhew'd as if Cruelty had not its full ſpring from his own Nature, but ſwell'd as it was nouriſh'd by the Streams of other Councils.

For after this he was again rais'd by the Advices of the Earls of *Holland* and *Nottingham*, to contrive the Deſtruction of the Duke of *Glocester*: And commonly as the Advice of ill men tends to the worſt things, ſo generally they ſuggeſt the worſt way of doing them.

The Duke of *Glocester* was then at his Houſe in *Plaſhy* in *Eſſex*, whither the King was invited, or rather invited himſelf, and with all Teſtimonies of Reſpect and Kindneſs moſt ſplendidly feaſted. This was judg'd a proper time for the Deſign;

Design; and as the Duke waited upon the *King*, to bring him going, he was seiz'd by a Company of arm'd men laid secretly for him, and so hurried blindfold to the *Thames*, and in a Vessel ready prepar'd, carried to *Calice*, and there shortly after strangled: Either thought too Guilty and Popular, or not Guilty enough to be brought to a publick Tryal. And as the wicked Advisers perswaded his taking by the breach of *Hospitality* (the basest way of Treachery), so they continued in the peculiar Methods of Mischief, to contrive his Death by the most hated way of private Murther.

Within a Day or two after, the King invited the Earl of *Warwick* to Dinner, and in the midst of all shews of Kindness, sent him to Prison, and also the Earl

Earl of *Arundel* and his Son. The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York* being thus alarm'd, gather'd Forces together; but upon the Promise of a Parliament, and Legal Proceedings, with many Excuses for what had been done, they dismiss'd their Forces, and came up to attend at Parliament; where Sir *John Bushy*, Sir *William Bagott*, and Sir *Henry Green*, appear'd busie Ministers for the King: Sir —— *Bushy* was made *Speaker*, and by his and their assiduous Endeavours, corrupting some by Fears, and others by Benefits, the Charters of Pardon, formerly granted by the King, were annull'd and made void. The *Prelates* perceiving what way was made for taking away of Lives, constituted Sir *Henry Percy* their Procurator, and absented themselves, that they might not be present at any

Sentence

Sentence of Blood; a President ever to be remembred for the Honour of their Calling.

Then follow'd, as was expected, the Death of the Earl of *Arundel*, the perpetual Imprisonment of the Earl of *Warwick* in the *Isle of Man*, the Death of the Duke of *Glocester* (abovemention'd), the Archbishop of *Canterbury* arraign'd for Executing the Commission against *Michael Delapoole*, the Lord *Cobham* banished into the *Isle of Wight*, Sir *Reginald Cobham* condemn'd to Death for being formerly appointed by the Lords in the King's Minority, to be one of his Governours.

These Cruel Successes furnished Arguments to those new Upstart Ministers, *Bushy*, *Bagott*, and *Green*, to infuse into the King

King how much more ſafe he was by Cruelty than gentle means, and how much more ſecure by Fear than Love. Nor are other Counſels to be expected from ſuch Men, equally low and mean in their Minds, as in their Extractions, made greedy from their Poverty, and ambitious from their Meanneſs; neither endued with their Minds and Fortunes to think of Principles: Power was their Juſtice, Violence their Prudence, and Opportunity the Providence.

The King was now poſſeſs'd with the Opinion, That he was in a Condition to diſpoſe, as he pleas'd, of thoſe that durſt diſlike his Actions, and that his *Will* might now become the *Law*. But the preſent Proſpect of Things commonly deceives thoſe that are willing onely

onely to believe the Whisperers of their own Inclinations; and because they see nothing at the present spring up, they forget that the Roots grow undiscern'd. And no Question, the King in that Conjuncture of Time, thought every Cloud dispers'd, and pursued all those fatal ways that mistaken Flattery cou'd guide him in.

But a particular Accident made way for a general and fatal Revolution. The Duke of *Hereford* one day discoursing with the Duke of *Norfolk*, complain'd how much the King was misguided by mean and base Counsellors, such as sought their own private Interest, and not the publick Good; and fear'd that the *King*, following such Councels, would so lose the Hearts of his People, that it might prove dangerous to him: Assuring

Assuring him, that no private displeasure urg'd him to say this, but meerly his love to his *King* and *Country*; and therefore desir'd the Duke, being one of the *King's* Cabinet-Council, to lay these things before him, which might prove of ill Consequence if continued. The Duke of *Norfolk* seemed not to dislike what had been said, but so represented it to the King, that he turn'd it rather to an Accusation, than a Counsel: The King, that could not endure to hear unpleasant Truths, and at that Instant looking upon himself as above the mean Consideration of publick Notions, so resented the boldness of the Duke of *Hereford*, that he summon'd him to answer this (that now became his Charge) before the Council, where the Duke confirmed his Information, which was deny'd by the Duke of *Hereford*

reford, owning all that he had ſaid; but the Duke of *Norfolk* maintaining the Accuſation, the Combat was demanded, and aſſented to, and the day appointed by the *King* : At which time both the Dukes appear'd arm'd, and being juſt ready to be engag'd, they were ſtopt by the *King*, and Baniſhment pronounced againſt both the Dukes : The Duke of *Norfolk* dyed ſuddenly after at *Venice*, having enjoy'd no great Benefit by thoſe *Violences* he ſo precipitately engaged in.

A little after dyed *John* of of *Gaunt*, Father to the Duke of *Hereford*, and fourth Son of *Edward* the Third; after whoſe death the *Dutchy* of *Lancaſter* fell to this Dukes being his eldeſt Son. But the *King* in his deceiv'd opinion of *Power* and *Security*, acted

the moſt probale means to ſhake both; ſeizing all the Duke's New-deſcended Eſtate into his own hands, and endeavour'd to make his Baniſhment perpetual: Revoking all his *Letters Patents*, to prevent the ſuing out the *Livery* for thoſe Lands during his Baniſhment.

If this be well conſider'd, 'tis impoſſible a *King* ſhould do it purely from his own advice: Firſt, he enrag'd a Perſon that could only be a conſiderable Enemy; his Popularity gave him an Intereſt in Power, and his *Deſcent* from a *King*, the Pretence to uſe it. This could be no Motive from *right Reaſon* to urge the King to do ſuch an imprudent *Injuſtice*; he was above the Temptation of a private Eſtate, but his Miniſters were tempted by it, following the uſual Methods of their

their Counſels, by no Conſiderations but *Revenge* and *Intereſt*; as if their Safeties were grounded upon nothing ſo much as their *Princes* Hazard, and their Advantages upon his Prejudice.

As the Teſtimony of the prevalency of theſe Counſellors, the *King* left all the Buſineſs to them, and gave himſelf up wholly to Sloth and Pleaſure; The imitation ſpread into *Luxury* and *Effeminacy*, and the *King* thought it was the Teſtimony of *Arbitrary Power* to live uncontrolled to ſuch a looſe Condition; all Power, but this ſhadow of it, was exercis'd by his Miniſters, who now depreſs'd all Perſons of either *Courage* or *Honour*. A Valiant Man was counted dangerous, and a Wiſe Man Mutinous; and every one was made perceive, that

'twas eaſier to proſper by following their *Princes Humour*, than to purſue his *Intereſt* and *Honour*.

The Miniſters being grown into *Abſolute power*, thought of nothing but how to ſatisfie their greedy *Ambitions* : They pretended to get all for the *King*, the ſure way to convey it to themſelves. And indeed his *Gifts* were ſo large to them, that they brought him into more wants, than ever the *Wars* of his brave *Anceſtors* could reduce them to; and us'd more unjuſt *Inventions* to ſupply his private uſe, than they needed publick Aſſiſtances to ſupport the *Intereſt* and *Honour* of it. But *Edward* the Firſt and *Edward* the Third had a leſs Burthen, and Charge to ſupport : They had a Kingdom and no Favourites; the firſt

was

was not capable to ſatisfie the latter. For at this time, without any publick occaſion, ſtrange ways were us'd to levy Money; ſometimes *Pole-money* was exacted of every *Religious Perſon*, and *Secular Prieſt*: ſometime ſſums were drawn from the People under the name of *Benevolence*; ſometimes Money borrow'd by *Privy Seals*. Then *Commiſſioners* ſent to all *Sheriffs* and *Corporations*, declaring the *King's High Diſpleaſure* for the kindneſs they teſtified to the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*; and for this affection ſhew'd to the *King's* Enemies, his Pardon was to be obtain'd by heavy Fines, or rather Taxes laid upon them. The *Commons* were bound by new-invented *Oaths*, to perform what they engag'd to, and *black Charters*

Sealed and Deliver'd to the *King's* uſe, whereby their *Liberty* might be as well taken away, as their *Properties* had been.

By ſuch *Counſels* as theſe the *Subjects* were turn'd to *Slaves*, and made waiters upon any Opportunities to ſhake off their *Fetters*: The *King* made believe he govern'd moſt, when he had none to Govern: For *Slaves* are not in the Buſineſs of Mankind; their Thoughts are fix'd upon *Revenge* and *Freedom*, and like diſtemper'd Men, ſeldom return to their former *Compoſures*.

The firſt occaſion that prov'd this true, was a Rebellion that broke out in *Ireland*; the opportunity of which *Diverſion* favour'd

favour'd the Earl of *Northumberland* to gather Forces in the *North*. And others of the *Nobility* and *People*, weary of their *Oppressions*, resolv'd in the King's absence to attempt some relief; and fixt upon the Duke of *Hereford*, as the proper Instrument to act by: His Banishment, that the *King* design'd to make perpetual, was the Cause of that mischief, which he believ'd he should prevent by it. He now became the Center, to which all other *Discontents* tended; to whom now resorted many of his former Friends, and others whom *Oppression* now made so.

Among these the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was the Chief; who in Speech to the Duke of *Hereford* laid open their *Grie-*

vances, and *Deſires*, ſumming up all the *Miſchiefs* and *Miſfortunes* of an unſteady *Government*, the *Contempt* it ſpread abroad, and *Oppreſſion* at home; not Slaves to their *Prince*, but to his *Favourites*; and that *Peace* under their Extortions was more chargeable than *War*: The Expence of their *Riots* and *Ambitions* needed more Projects and Taxes to maintain them, than the Defence and Support of the *Government* it ſelf requir'd: By their *Cruelties* moſt of the *Nobility* were deſtroyed, and the *Commonalty* waſted; concluding with imploring the Duke to pity the Oppreſſion of his *Countrey*, and to animate thoſe that were ready to redeem themſelves from *Slavery*, by his Valour and Conduct.

The

The Duke of *Lancaſter* needed not the force of Eloquence to perſwade him; the loſs of his Uncles, his Baniſhment, the Impriſonment of his Children, and the loſs of his Eſtate, were powerful Exciters enough to lay hold on any Opportunity to revenge all his Wrongs: To all which was added the perſwaſive Temptation of a Crown; and ſure there could be no more powerful Motives, than by one way at once to ſatisfie both his Ambition and Revenge.

Theſe *Conſiderations*, and the depending on the Peoples *Affections* to a Change (being wearied with Oppreſſion) made him venture to land with a very ſmall Force in *Yorkſhire*. At firſt he gave out, That he came only to

to recover his Inheritance, and quickly found his utmost Expectation answer'd; for his small Troop presently encreas'd to an Army. Many of the Nobility that came in to him, took an Oath of him, That no bodily harm should be done to King *Richard*; as if a Conquest and a Crown wou'd preserve that Sincerity that was inconsistent with it; or that the Modesty profess'd, when something was to be obtain'd, should continue after the *Acquisition.*

The Duke finding every thing more successful than almost he could hope, pursued that Fortune which so prosperously invited him, and hasted with his still-encreasing Forces to *London*, where he found a Reception suitable to usual Joy, that discontented People

ple ſhew in Alterations. He was receiv'd in Triumph without Victory, and with all the Teſtimonies of Zeal and Duty which flattering Crowds cou'd pay their lawful *Prince* and *Soveraign*; Pageants and rich Preſents entertain'd him; and all the fulſome Praiſes that could be invented, and as many contumelious Reproaches on their *King*: All *Teſtimonies* of *Allegiance* ſeem'd loſt; the modeſt Mask was now taken off, and War proclaim'd againſt King *Richard* and his Adherents.

The Duke of *York* in the mean time tried to raiſe Forces; but found a general Reſolution in all People, not to be Enemies to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. The *Favourites*, that were active and bold in Proſperity, ſhew'd that neither

neither their Skill nor their Duty, was to ſtruggle with Difficulties; nor had they either Intereſt or Reputation, if they had attempted it: They were always dead Weights upon their *Prince*, and, like the nature of it, hung heavieſt upon weak *Conditions*. *Buſhy* and *Greene* were purſued to *Briſtol*, and there taken; a fatal place to haſty *Favourites*. They were eagerly purſu'd by the flattering Fury of the People; and perhaps there were ſome among them, that before, in the Proſperity of theſe *Favourites*, made as paſſionate Profeſſions of a contrary Devotion. *Bagott* eſcap'd into *Ireland*, and ſav'd himſelf from the preſent Execution. The Lord *Scroop*, Lord Treaſurer, with *Buſhy* and *Greene* that were taken, loſt their Heads.

Theſe

Theſe ſudden Executions were but the uſual Conſequences of violent Changes: All new-gotten *Power* is commonly endeavour'd to be preſerv'd by Deſtruction; and the Execution of the Unfortunate, is call'd a Juſtice.

King *Richard* was at this time in *Ireland*, where the news came to him of the Duke's landing in *England*, and his ſucceſsful Proceedings. The news increas'd by coming, and every Circumſtance grew enlarg'd; ſo that it appear'd the blackeſt and moſt portentous Storm that ever gather'd in the full Sun-ſhine of a *Prince*, which his Favourites aſſur'd him cou'd be ſubject to no Eclipſe.

The

The contrary appear'd to this unfortunate *King*, who was then engag'd in Troubles in *Ireland:* After ſome time, he prepar'd for *England*, having firſt impriſon'd the Sons of the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Glocester*, in *Trim*-Caſtle, and took with him the Dukes of *Surrey*, *Aumarl*, and *Exeter*, and the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Carliſle*.

The Earl of *Salisbury* was ſent before to raiſe an Army, which he did in *Cornwal*; but the *King* failing to come within the time he promis'd, they all diſcourag'd, went home. This delay was attributed to the Counſel of the Duke of *Aumarl*, who perhaps had more mind to ſee things determin'd by the Fortune of others,

others, than by hazarding his own.

After this, the *King* Lands in *Wales*, where he found the ſtream turning from him, and every Place of ſtrength ſubmitting to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. He knew not what Courſe to ſteer, but wandred to *Conway*-Caſtle, where the Earl of *Worceſter*, Steward to the *King*'s Houſhold, (as if finding a fitting time to remember the proclaiming his Brother, the Duke of *Northumberland*, Traytor) broke his Staff of Office openly in the Hall, before the *King*'s Servants; and with Advice to them to be as baſe as himſelf, went avowedly to the Duke: The reſt followed his Example and thoſe that ſeem'd the moſt eagerly Loyal, became now the

moſt

moſt violently Rebellious. And 'tis improbable that thoſe, who with unlimited Flattery for their *Intereſt* and *Ambition*, had perſwaded their *Prince* into the dangerous Attempt of *Abſolute Power*, ſhould in any turn of Fortune, or ſhock of Danger, retain any limited Principles. The true *Intereſt* of a *Prince*, retains the *Intereſt* of others; but the *Intereſt* of private *Men*, excludes the *Prince*'s. We have heard, 'tis true, of ſome that have been ſucceſsful in ſuch unjuſt and dangerous *Attempts*; but the *Examples* have been very few, that have not been fatal at laſt; and there are ſo many of the contrary, that the *Compariſon* would convince any, That the juſt *Limits* within a *Nation's Conſtitution*, are much more ſafe, as well as glorious.

King

King *Richard* had now cause to make such sad Reflections, and by the *want of Power* instructed to lament the *attempting of too much*: He saw himself *forsaken* by those whom he should have *forsook* before; He now felt severely the want of that *Trust* and *Confidence* that he had destroy'd; and seem'd not *forsaken* of his *People*, but to have *forsook* them before; He had forc'd them all to be in the nature of *Traytors*, and compell'd them to *purchase*, as it were, the name of *Subjects*, while there were none that seem'd so to him, but those that needed *Pardon* the most, such as had counsell'd him to the *Ruin* that now fell upon him.

He had been so long accustomed to follow the *Counsel* of *others*, that he knew not now the way to use his *own*: He had too long followed the mean and easie ways of *Indirectness*. Virtuous and steddy Actions in the undisturbed part of

Life, give power in *Extremity*; and the memory of what was *Great* and *Good*, gives boldneſs to ſuch a Mind to claim *Succeſs* in the *worſt condition*: But the memory of *Injuries* and *Injuſtice* done to others, ſhakes *Hopes* and *Expectations* in a dangerous Eſtate. This he ſhewed, by *diſcharging* his *Army*, rather than bravely uſing them; as if he believ'd it impoſſible to recover *Power* now, ſince he had uſed it ſo ill before.

The next thing that ſeem'd beſt, was to have *retired* till a *better occaſion* was offered; for nothing is more *various* or *violent*, than the ſtream of Mens minds, with greedineſs affecting *Change*, and hurried by *Expectations* (that are ſeldom anſwered) to be eas'd from all *former Grievances* and *Oppreſſions*; and every one that aſſiſted in the *Alteration*, looks upon himſelf as a *particular Object* of *Reward*; never conſidering, that *new-gotten Power* needs

needs more to ſecure it, than the *Eaſe* of *People* will allow; and when deceiv'd in that, they begin to ſtagger, and at laſt grow to repent the *Blood* and *Money* the *expenceful Change* had coſt, and ready upon any occaſion to revenge their miſtaken Errours. And perhaps King *Richard* might have *hop'd* as much in ſome time, as the Duke of *Lancaſter* then *found*.

But there were ſome who probably had before appear'd moſt violently *Loyal*, who now advis'd their *ſtill-abuſed King* to the *laſt* and *worſt way*, and ſacrific'd *Him* for *their own Peace*; telling, perhaps, That *unfortunate Princes* ſeldom found *Protection* abroad, but were kept only as a *Compoſition* with their *ſucceſsful Enemies*. And tho he had ſo near *Relation* to the King of *France*, yet *Ties* by *Marriage* were no Obſtacle to their *Uſe* of *Intereſt*, but rather a Shelter for the more *unſuſpected Deſigns*. And

he would accordingly find, that he would be the *Sacrifice* of *new Alliances*, and then 'twould be too late to expect ſuch Conditions from the Duke of *Lancaſter*, which probably he might not hope for.

Theſe *falſe Reaſons* were perhaps uſed to him by ſuch as could not at a leſs rate reconcile themſelves to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, than by betraying their *Maſter* into his hands; for nothing could be more *improbable*, than that he who *had the Power*, ſhould by *Conditions* preſerve him who *had a Right to it*, while neither was capable to truſt the others Mercy: Yet this *vain Counſel* was followed; and, as if to improve it by *Intelligence* with the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Duke of *Northumberland* was ſent to the King, to aſſure him, that the *Duke* would pay him all *humble Obedience*, and only deſir'd a *Parliament* ſhould be called at *Weſtminſter*, to ſettle the *ſhaken Affairs* of the *Nation*.

The

The *King* must then perceive how he was forsaken by those who before had so much flatter'd him with their *excessive Love* and *Loyalty*: and it seem'd a just instruction to suspect the *violent Professions* of any that have no restraint by *Principles* in a *fortunate Condition*: They that want *Virtue*, and profess *Love*, should rather cause *suspicion* than *belief*; especially when 'tis addressed where *Power* and *Interest* may invite it: But the Love of *absolute Greatness* in *Opinion*, more than *real* and *true Greatness* in it self, has hindred *Princes* from seeing the *Defects* and *Designs* of *mean* and *interrupted Flatterers*; such as believe their *Prince* has never *Power* enough, unless it appears by the *Oppression* of others, and (like these in this unhappy *King*'s time) fall from their *Professions*, as he declined in *Power*: But I have read of some (tho but a *few*) who governed themselves by *Principles* in

their *Prince's Proſperity*, and guided by the ſame *Virtue*, have not forſaken him in *Adverſity*.

The *King* in ſome meaſure yet made a *right Reflection* on his *Condition*; for he thought 'twas in vain to hope that the *Conqueror* would reſtore him the *Power* he had gotten, and therefore only to the Duke of *Northumberland* propoſed for himſelf a *retir'd* and *quiet Condition*: But he was as much miſtaken to *hope that*, as he gueſſed right to *expect the other*. But when the *Duke* met the *King* at *Flint-Caſtle*, he ſeem'd to pay him all Reverence due to a *King*; and told him, *He only acted what he had done for the recovery of his Eſtate and Poſſeſſions*. But this was only that *falſe Formality*, that *ill men* uſe in *obtaining*, and ſeldom perform when they have *obtained*; for ſuch *Modeſty* is laid aſide by *Succeſs*, and *Juſtice* grown uſeleſs, when *Power* is fully poſſeſſed; for preſently after the

King

King was ſecured, and in the condition of a *Priſoner* carried to *London*; yet in *His Name* a *Parliament* was preſently called.

The *King* now found the unhappy Truth, *That uſually mens Profeſſions are but the product of their preſent Conditions, not of their Intentions; and perhaps in a low eſtate they may wiſh and deſire within modeſt limits: but the violence of overwhelming Power breaking over the former bounds, overthrow all mean and level thoughts.* Perhaps the *King* might now make ſuch ſevere *Reflections* on his *paſt Actions*, ſeldom regarding his *Profeſſions* when he had *Power* or *Opportunity* to violate them; he could not but be preſt with the memory of his *unhoſpitable Treachery* to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*; and muſt with deteſtation remember thoſe Counſellors of *Falſeneſs* and *Indirectneſs*, which once *deſtroy'd* his *Happineſs*, and now *ag-*

gravated his *Miſery*. He now ſaw their *violent* and *loyal flatteries* were meant for *their own Intereſt*, not for *His*; and that ſuch *mean things*, like other *Inſects*, live with a little Warmth, but ſhrink at any Change of Weather.

The Duke of *York*, that was entruſted with the *Government*, during King *Richard*'s abſence in *Ireland*, was become the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s chief *Adviſer* of the Methods he was now to take, which was as violent as his fogotten Duty requir'd to make his *new Loyalty* acceptable. In the firſt place, he advis'd, That King *Richard* ſhould be preſſed to a voluntary *Reſignation*, and alſo to be ſolemnly Depos'd. This Advice was purſued, and the King ſeem'd as ready to yield to it, as the *Duke* ambitiouſly deſired it: The form of the *Reſignation* was then contriv'd to be performed the day before the *Parliament* was to meet, and yet that *Parliament* was to ſit,

tho

tho the *King* was to be no longer a *King*, in whose name it was called; and certainly, if there could be no Virtue in the *Resignation*, the *Dissolution* of the *Parliament* must have been the Consequence; for that which was call'd by a *Power*, could not continue when there was a *Demise* of that *Power*; but no *Plot* was to be seen or hit. The hasty and flattering *Zeal*, that was to be shown to the Duke of *Lancaster*, pursued it's violent Course through all the *Obstacles* of *Law* and *Justice*.

Among those that were Commission'd to receive his *Resignation*, there were *Lords*, *Clergy-men*, and *Lawyers*; the two Chief Justices, *Thormins* and *Markham*, were in the number: And in the Reigns of these two unfortunate *Princes*, there wanted not *Temporal* and *Spiritual Gown-men*, that contributed to all their *Errors* in their unfortunate *Conditions*; and on their Adversities, transplanted their *Zeals* into *Sunshine*. These

These *Commissioners* being formerly Assembled in the *Tower*; King *Richard* was brought out in all the *Kingly Ornaments*, that he might have some *Ensigns* of *Glory* to resign formally; in this *Condition* he was placed in a *Chair* of *State*, and in this moment of his *Royalty* appear'd a *King*; all that was now done, was certainly from himself, and shew'd in this *Extremity*, virtue enough to make it evident, He might have been an excellent *Prince*, had his *Ministers* not Reigned more than he; for he shew'd no *Disorder* to this great and unpresidented Action of his *Life*; he neither seem'd to force a *Resolution* to endure, nor affect a *Temper* to submit. But as both had naturally sprung from the choice of a retired *Condition*, with this *Calmness* in all this *Storm* of *Fortune*, he spoke to the *Commissioners*, beginning with their acknowledging those *Errors*, that his *Youth* made

made ill *Councellors* capable to imprint in him; and ſeem'd only troubled, that he had not time allowed to repair thoſe *Injuries* he had done the *Nation*; knowing now from a clear ſight, that he was both willing and capable to have performed ſo happy an Action. He now perceiv'd his own *Virtues*, when the *Vices* of others could no longer hide them. And he that could have once been ſo eaſily perſwaded, that he was ſhot at through his wounded *Miniſters*; now ſaw that 'twas from them he receiv'd his *Wounds*; he neither accuſed any, nor complained of any, nor valuing a *Narrative* and *Empty Satisfaction*; but concluded with the choice of loſing a *Kingdom*, rather than engage it in *Blood* and *Confuſion* for his *Sake*; deſiring only to enjoy that *Peace* which he merited for *Reſerving* it for others; and was as willing to reſign his *Title* to the Duke of *Lancaſter*,

Lancaster, as he perceiv'd they were willing to receive it from him.

After this, he read the *Instrument* that was prepar'd; and made two *Bishops* his *Attorneys*, to declare that his *Resignation* in *Parliament*, which was done the *Monday* after, and accepted of by the *Lords* and *Commons*, was *Legal*; but yet this was not thought enough, but a heavy *Charge* in many *Articles* was exhibited against him.

The *Articles* were too far from my purpose, and too long to set down; but whoever reads them in the *Rolls*, will find them of much weight, and as shrewdly compos'd, as the Nature of the thing could either bear or require; there was not an *Injustice* or *Error* omitted; the chiefest things contained were those *Actions* by which his *Favourites* thought to secure themselves, by subjecting all *Judges* and *Sheriffs*

Sheriffs to his *Will*, thereby to bring within his *Power*, *Parliaments* and *Law*, and make way to *Levy Taxes* as he pleased; and it was a particular *Article*, That he should say and declare, That all *Law* lay in his *Head* and *Breast*.

These are the *Extremities* that proceed from the *Counsels* of such *Men*, who have made themselves incapable to *Share* or *Trust* in the *Common Good*; who knowing how little they could expect from the uninterrupted *Methods* of *Law* and *Justice*, seek to preserve themselves by the *Destruction* of that which threatned them. And 'twere impossible that *Princes* should involve their *own* in the desperate *Interest* of *others*, were they not first blinded from discerning the *Ambition* of those that hide it under the fierce *Zeal* for their *Absolute Power*.

The *Articles* (which were 29.) were owned by the *Lords* and

Commons

Commons to be so notorious, that they needed no further *Examination* or *Proof*. And joined with the *Consent* of the *King*, on whom they were charged; It was judged sufficient for *Deposing* King *Richard*, and *Establishing* the Duke of *Lancaster*, by the Name of **Henry the Fourth**; adding also a *far-fetch'd Title* from *Henry* III. to patch up the *seeming Justice* of such an *Action*.

This *Title* was drawn from *Edmund*, sirnamed *Crookback*, eldest Son of *Henry* III. and that for his Deformity he was put by the Succession, and given to *Edward* I. and the Duke of *Lancaster* was next of Blood by the Mothers side to this *Edmund*. But this *Edmund* was third Son of *Henry*, and not deformed at all, but a brave Man in Person and Mind; but the next Heir then to the Crown was *Edmund* Earl of *March*, Son to *Roger*, who was a little before slain in *Ireland*; who seeing the Stream so violent,

violent against King *Richard*, wisely retir'd, and liv'd with all imaginable *Care* and *Pruduce*.

Thus was a *Title* invented, to support that *Power*, which the *Sword* had obtain'd: And the *King*, who by the *Law* is said to do no wrong, is charg'd with *Articles* for doing all. Thus when *Ballances* are once hoisted, like *Childrens* play at *Weighing*, the same *Weight* tosses one another, that would of themselves hang equally; nor is there any *Judicature* to compose such violent *Disorders* in a *State*; for *Success* will be the *Judg*, and always gives worst *Judgment*. And the *Professors* of the *divine* and *human Laws*, have been commonly zealously ready to find wrested *Law*, and *Divine Necessity* to ratify the *Success* of the *Ambitious*. On the other side, when *Princes* by false *Professions*, *abuse* the *Good*, and increase in *Power* enough to *encourage* the *Bad*, the eager *Hounds* they

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they press to run at *Head*, and lead the *Cry* that's made by slower paced, and more temperate *Hunters*, till at last, *Fear* and *Necessity* brings most to make up the *Noise*; or by *Silence*, not to interrupt it; so that a general *Consent* seems to contribute to the designed *Oppression*: And the naming a *Right* to *Liberty* and *Property*, becomes an *Intention* of *Rebellion*. The *Prince's Will* must then be the *Law*, and his *Religion* the *Devotion* of all *Loyal Subjects*; then those that have least *Principles*, declare for the greatest *Loyalty*; and by their *Zeal* and *Duty* pursue their *Interest* and *Ambition*. And the search for *Absolute Power*, is made by secret *Reserves*, publick and false *Professions*, *Corrupting* some, and *Terrifying* others, *Deceiving* many; and upon specious *Pretences* displacing such as appear either suspecting the *Designs*, or not as passionate as the rest in promoting them. Yet, when the *Power*

is

is promoted and ſecur'd, as the *King* was told his was, when all *Subjects* loſt their *Names*, and like *guilty Slaves*, ſigned *Blanks*, as the *Teſtimony* of it. Then appears what *Machiavel* deſcribes in thoſe times among the *Romans*; When *abſolute Power* was *exerciſed*; *Riches* and *Honour*, eſpecially, *Virtue*, grew to be *Capital Offences*; *Informers* and *Calumniators* rewarded, *Servants* inſtigated againſt their *Maſters*, *Children* againſt their *Parents*, *guilty Men* the *Accuſers*; and thoſe few that were ſo unhappy to have no *Enemies*, deſtroyed by their *Friends*. And all *diſſembled Cruelties* and *Oppreſſions*, break forth into *publick* and *barefaced Practice*. That which before was declared to be the *Government*, muſt then be call'd the *ſupport* of it. Ill *Deſigns* grow by *Degrees*, but when their *cheriſh'd Roots* have took a deep and firm *hold*, they are then declared by the *miſchievous Fruit* they put forth.

Modeſty ſeldom ſtays with full grown *Power*; and the former *Reputation* of *Men*, is uſeleſs to them. In ſuch a *Change* they muſt purchaſe *new Characters*, from *new Violences*, to *merit Truſt* or *Safety*.

King *Richard* having now (as far as he could) reſign'd his *Sovereign Power*, began to find how much he was miſtaken with the hopes of enjoying that retir'd Peace, which he ſeem'd willing to change his *Crown* for; *Fortune* commonly makes haſte in the *Proſperity* or *Adverſity* of *Princes*; and there is a *reaſonable Cauſe* why neither ſhould be *ſlow*; for the baſe *Minds* of *Men* hurry them to *aſſiſt* the *Succeſsful*, and help to *deſtroy* the *Unfortunate*; led always more by *Fear* and *Intereſt*, than *Reſolution* and *Virtue*.

This *Truth* appear'd in the *Condition* of this unhappy *King*; whoſe *Title* that was left him, was firſt

ſhar'd

ſhar'd by his *Enemies*, and he then convey'd from the *Tower* of *London*, to *Leeds Caſtle* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pomfret Caſtle* in *Yorkſhire*; for ſome little time there ſeem'd to be paid him ſome ſmall *Reſpects* in the manner of his *Attendance*, but that was but the *Counterfeit Treating* of the *Shadow* of a *King*, which yet probably made him uneaſy who enjoyed the *Subſtantial Power*: For it is *reported* by ſome, That King *Henry* ſhould one day with a deep *Sigh Deplore* and *Lament*, That neither he nor the *Nation*, had a *Friend* that would pull up that *Root* from which *Diſquiets* and *Rebellion* could only *Spring*.

'Tis probable that the Biſhop of *Carliſle's Oration*, arguing at that time againſt the *Right* of King *Richard's* being depos'd, and the *Right* of *Henry* to ſucceed to the *Crown*, and ſome *Plots* and *Riſings* that afterwards happen'd, might perhaps

haſten the taking away the *unfortunate Prince* from all his *Miſeries*; but whether the *King* gave particular *Orders* or *Encouragement* by ſuch *words*, is uncertain; but there never wanted *Men* barbarous enough to offer *cruel Sacrifices* to *bloody Power*; and for the hopes of *Favour* and *Reward*, rather *gueſs* what *Miſchief* would be acceptable, than ſtay to be inſtructed, that their *Merits* might ſeem to be enlarged by their readineſs in *Villany*.

Some of theſe *Cauſes* made Sir *Peirce Exton*, with eight other *Villains*, haſten to *Pomfret*, as if he feared he ſhould be depriv'd of the *Honour* of the *Action*; when he arriv'd, the *Preface* to the intended *Cruelty*, was the forbearance of that *Ceremony* of *Taſting*, that was uſually paid King *Richard*, as he ſat at *Dinner*; who demanded the *Reaſon* of it. He that uſed to perform it, anſwer'd, That Sir *Peirce Exton* had brought ſuch *Orders* from

King

King *Henry*; at which the *King* ſeem'd ſo much *tranſported*, that he *Struck* at him, and call'd him *Huzzy* of *Lancaſter*; at which time Sir *Peirce Exton* with his *bloody Followers* entred, and ſhut the *Door* after him, which being perceiv'd by the *King*, he verily gueſſed their fatal *Intentions*; and ſeeming leſs ſurprized in this great and threatning *Danger*, than in all the former, tho leſſer *Hazards*; he readily and boldly ſnatched a *Halbert*, and with a *Reſolution* differing from his former *Actions*, *Slew* four of the *Aſſaſſinates*, and with continued *Bravery* fought with the reſt, till the chief Villain *Exton* got upon a *Chair* behind him, and with a *Pole-Ax* ſtruck him down, where the *unfortunate King* ended all his *Calamities*, and left the *Murderer* to endure future *Torments*. For when he returned again, expecting great *Preferments* and *Rewards*, he found himſelf de-

ceiv'd, not only in the hopes of an *Addition* of *Favour*, but in the *Loss* of what he had; not considering that, tho a *Man* might be *Ill* enough to wish a *Mischief*, he hardly could be so confidently *Bad*, as publickly to *Reward* the *Doer* of it; that *counterfeit Piece* of *Justice* was probably shewed by the *King*, to seem (at least) to hate what he wish't, by *Discountenancing* the *Actor* of the *Ill*, who now began by *Discontent* to make way for a punishing *Conscience*, which continued him in *Torments* during his short and miserable *Life*, and left an *Infamy* to outlive him.

It is observable, that in the two greatest *Exigencies* of this *Prince's Life*, he appear'd differing from himself; one in *Resignation* of his *Crown*; the other in the *Loss* of his *Life*; the first he did with a steady *Calmness*, almost above the *Temper* of a *Man*; the last

last with a *Courage* equal to the *Bravest*; in smaller *Concerns* he seem'd *unsteady* and *amaz'd*; in these great ones *firm* and *unconcern'd*; but in these *Extremities* he was not cloy'd with those *Favourites* and *Ministers* that *influenc'd* him with their *Weakness*, and *shook* his *Mind* with their *Indirectness*, making not only their *Cause* to be his, but his *Nature* theirs.

This seem'd justified by his *Behaviour* in these last and greatest *Extremities*; when acting wholly from himself, he intitled himself at last to his *Father's* and *Grandfather's* (the *Black Prince's*) *Courage* and *Virtue*; and shew'd himself *Dying*, what they never gave him leave to appear *Living*.

THE COMPARISON.

HAving now finiſhed, with ſome *Reflections* on the *chief Accidents* in the *Reigns* of *Edward* and *Richard* II. and believing it to be too tedious to take the ſame *Methods* with *Edward* I. and *Edward* III. I thought it was not improper to *Extract* their *Characters*; that by the *Compariſon* of them all, the reaſonable *Cauſes* may further appear of the *unhappy Condition* of the *two firſt*, and the *proſperous Fortunes* of the *two others*, which will ſhew the fatal and mighty *Difference* in a *Prince*'s uſing himſelf, and being uſed by others; between the *ſteddineſs* of a *ſtrong Mind*, and the *indirectneſs* of a *weak* one, *Edward* I. and *Edward* III: reſembled one another. *Edward* and

Richard

Richard II. were alſo alike: So that their *Compariſons* may be made as if between *Two Perſons*, which will ſhew the *Cauſes* of the *mighty Differences* that ſucceeded with them.

Edward I. and *Edward* III. came both to the *Crown* after it had been *ſhaken* by the *Errors* of both their Fathers, *Henry* III. and *Henry* II.

Edward and *Richard* II. came both to the *Crown* after it had been *ſetled* by the *Virtues* and *Valour* of the Father and Grandfather, *Edward* I. and *Edward* III.

Edward I. and *Edward* III. were both Men *Earlier* than others, and *Victorious* before others uſed to *attempt* Victory: So that before they *were Kings*, they ſhew'd how fit they were *to be ſo.*

Edward and *Richard* II. never appear'd *Men*, till they were to be ſo *no more*; They never attempted *true Glory*; and before they *were Kings*, gave *little Teſtimony* of their *fitneſs to be ſo.*

Edward

Edward I. and *Edward* III. were able to *Judge*, yet never unwilling to hear the *Judgment* of *others*; They were *deliberate* in *resolving*, but *firm* in their *Resolutions*; unshaken in *Dangers*, steddy and equal in *Safety*; *Their Promises* were *Mankind's Security*, and *Truth* their *Wisdom*; Their great *Virtues* and *Courage* made the *Nation* expect *Success* from all their *Actions*.

Edward and *Richard* II. never appear'd able to *Judge*, but wholly submitted to the *interested Opinion* of *others*; They were *inconstant* in all Conditions; in Prosperity *bold* and *violent*, in Danger *fearful* and *temperate*; Their *Promises* were *no Security*, and *Dissimulation* was their *Policy*: So that from *such Methods* of *Government* the *Nation* could expect no *Success* or *Happiness*.

Edward I. and *Edward* III. grew *fierce* by *Opposition*, and *gentle* by *Submission*; They seldom denied *Pardon* to those that implor'd it, nor

nor suffer'd any *abused Mercy* unrevenged; They were *Mighty* enough to *conquer* Enemies, and *Powerful* enough to *forgive* those they *conquer'd*; They were equally *Victorious* both to *Themselves* and *Others*; and those that *submitted* proved always more fortunate than those that *resisted*

Edward and *Richard* II. were *submissive* when *oppos'd*, and *fierce* when *submitted to*; They always abus'd the *Tenderness* of *others*, and seldom shew'd any of *their own*; never *forgiving*, where they had opportunity to *punish*; They neither had *Power* nor *Design* to conquer *Enemies*, but used *both* to overcome their *Friends*; *Others* were *Masters* of *Them*, not *They* of *Themselves*, and they that *resisted* were always more fortunate than they that *submitted*.

Edward I. and *Edward* III. in their greatest *Hazards* required none to attempt more than they did

did in their own Perſons; and in the greateſt *Proſperity* and *Safety* they preſcrib'd no more *Virtue* and *Temperance* than they gave *Examples* for.

Edward and *Richard* II. in *Danger* depended on others to attempt for them, and in *Proſperity* they gave no *Rules* of *Virtue*, but ſuffer'd the *Vices* of others to be their *Examples*.

Edward I. and *Edward* III. knew how to *gain Power*, and how to *uſe* it; They made the *beſt Laws*, that might have attempted the eaſieſt to *break* them.

Edward and *Richard* II. knew little how to *get Power*, and leſs how to *uſe* it. *Chance* ſometimes *brought* it, and their *giddy Favourites loſt* it. They never ſeem'd inclin'd to make *good Laws*, and were always contriving to violate thoſe that were made.

Edw I. and *Edw.* III. knew how to *gain*, and how to *preſerve*, by the

Love

Love and *Confidence* they rais'd in their Subjects hearts; the *first* they *requited*, and never *abused* the *last*.

Edward and *Richard* II. shew'd little skill how to *gain*, and as little how to *preserve*; They were advised to the *mistaken Policy* of *neglecting Love*, and to the *Folly* of *abusing Trust*.

Edward I. and *Edward* III. had great *Taxes* and *Supplies*, which in *themselves* might appear very large, but would not seem so vast, when compar'd with their *Victories*. The *Conquest* of *Wales*, *Scotland*, and *France*, will not seem such *light Victories* to be obtain'd with *small Assistance*; but what the Nation gave was *justly bestowed* for what it was given, and *faithfully laid out* for their *Honour* and *Interest*.

Edward and *Richard* II. had *great Supplies*, but made no Purchase with them of *Honour* or *Interest*: What others bestowed for the *publick Glory*, they gave away to their

private

private Favourites, and wanted more to supply their *Avarice* and *Ambitions*, than the others did to enlarge the *Nations Glory*: The *private Conquests* the *Favourites* made over *these Princes*, were more chargeable than the *Victories* the others obtain'd over *Nations*.

Edward I. and *Edward* III. not only returned *Security* and *Benefit* for their *Subjects Gifts*, by *Conquests* Abroad, but by *excellent Laws* at Home: What *Edward* I. began well, *Edward* III. gave perfection to; nor were these *brave Princes* more *just* in making *good Laws*, than *severe* in the *due execution* of them; and never shewed so much severity, as against those that abused the *Trust of Justice*; as if they were more offended at the *Enemies of Mankind*, than at *their own*.

Edward and *Richard* II. returned *nothing* to their Subjects for what they gave, neither by the *Bravery* of *Arms* to *crush* the *Greatness*

of

of their *Enemies*, nor by the *Virtue* of *good Laws*, to increase the *Prosperity* of the *People*; They seem'd not fitted in *Themselves* to attempt the *first*, and too much influenc'd by *Favourites* to incline to the *last*; They feared the *Greatness* of their *Subjects*, more than their *Enemies*; and shewed they would rather have Conquer'd at *Home* than *Abroad*; as if they would choose to make *their own People* Slaves, rather than *Others*. They apprehended the *Effect* of *good Laws*, and were most pleased with those that *debauch'd* the *Trust of Justice*; and the *Judges* esteemed most *Loyal*, that were readily *wicked*; those were the *greatest Favourites*, that the People most *hated*, & the *greatest Enemies to Men* were reputed the *best Friends to them.*

Edward I. and *Edward* III. mingled *their Interests* with *their Subjects*, and never refused to hear the *Wrongs* of those that assisted them

to

to revenge their *Injuries* on others. They were *equally Valiant*, and *equally Successful*, and both died uncheck'd by *Fortune*; only *Edward* I. *dy'd himself*, and *Edward* III. *outliv'd himself*: But the *Death* of his *glorious Son* the *Black Prince*, join'd with the weight of *Old Age*, might justly make that *Sun* set *clouded*.

Edward and *Richard* II. divided *their Interests* from *their Subjects*; and their complaint of *Grievances* rather procur'd *Punishment* than *Redress*. They thought *their Peoples Good* was *inconsistent* with *their Power*; and to be *sensible* of *Oppression*, was *Rebellious*. They were *alike* in their *Tempers*, and *equally Successful*; and in the midst of the greatest *smiles* of *Fortune*, both alike *forsaken* by *Her*. But *Richard* II. in the last *wretched Scene* of his Life had the opportunity of shewing *some Testimonies* that he sprung from the *Black Prince*, and had not *liv'd* more *unhappily* than he *dy'd bravely*: The *First* he ow'd to his *Favourites*, the *Last* to *Himself*.

FINIS.